Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-132
Wednesday
10 July 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-132 *10 July 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Final CEMA Session Held in Budapest 28 Jun 1
Dissolution Protocol Signed *[MTI]* 1
Delegates Hold News Conference *[MTI]* 1
'Economic Forum' Group Formed *[BTA]* 1
Warsaw Pact Dissolution Meeting Held in Prague 2
Havel Meets With Leaders *[Prague Radio]* 2
Iliescu Meets Havel, Zhelev *[ROMPRES]* 2
Havel Opens Session *[CTK]* 3
Antall Addresses Pact Meeting *[MTI]* 3
Bielecki Seeks CSCE Concept *[PAP]* 4
Zhelev Speech Reported *[BTA]* 4
Iliescu Addresses Prague Meeting *[ROMPRES]* 5
Havel Closes Final Session *[Prague TV]* 6
Dissolution Protocol Signed 1 Jul *[CTK]* 6
Pact States Issue Communique *[CTK]* 6
Havel News Conference Statement *[Prague Radio]* 6
Yanayev Urges NATO Dissolution *[CTK]* 7

ALBANIA

Proceedings of 9 Jul People's Assembly Session *[ATA]* 8
Democratic Party Spokesman on Albanians in SFRY *[Budapest NEPSZAVA 9 Jul]* 8

BULGARIA

Constitution Passed; 'Virtual Split' of SDS *[BTA]* 9
Constitution To Be Signed on 12 Jul in Sofia *[BTA]* 9
SDS Splits After Parties Sign Separate Accord *[BTA]* 9
Dimitrov Denies Split *[BTA]* 10
BSDP Committee Assesses SDS Situation *[SVOBODEN NAROD 3 Jul]* 10
BSP Seen Withholding Election System Preference *[BTA]* 11
BZNS-United on Nikola Petkov BZNS Walkout *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 3 Jul]* 11
Stalev Denies Fraud in 1990 Elections *[BTA]* 12
Tomov Meets Mock, FRG's Toepfer in Vienna *[BTA]* 12
Results of Vienna Meeting on Kozloduy Reported *[BTA]* 13
IAEA Press Official Elaborates *[Sofia Radio]* 13
Inflation Rate Still Expected To Rise *[DEMOKRATSIYA 4 Jul]* 13
New Interest Rates To Be Introduced 10 Jul *[BTA]* 14
Trade Union Leader Petkov on Wage Bargaining *[TRUD 5 Jul]* 14
Results of Pushkarov USSR Visit Assessed *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 4 Jul]* 15
New Treaty To Be Signed With USSR *[DUMA 6 Jul]* 15
Dutch National Arrested for Spying *[BTA]* 16
Changing 'Nature' of Border With Macedonia *[DEMOKRATSIYA 5 Jul]* 16

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Ministry Responds to SFRY Protest *[CTK]* 17
Hungary's Antall, Havel Discuss European Issues *[MTI]* 17
Langos on Intelligence Service Work *[PRACE 25 Jun]* 17
Environment Protection Law Passed *[CTK]* 19

Carnogursky Supports Moravian Sovereignty *[VEREJNOST 8 Jul]* 19
Minister Comments on Agriculture Problems, Policy *[NARODNA OBRODA 6 Jul]* 19
Christian Democratic Union Split *[OBCANSKY DENIK 8 Jul]* 21

HUNGARY

Antall Addresses Foreign Trade Representatives *[MTI]* 22
Foreign Minister Jeszensky on SFRY Situation *[Budapest Radio]* 22
Alliance of Free Democrats on Economic Program *[MTI]* 23
National Bank Chairman on Interest Rates *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 8 Jul]* 24

POLAND

Concept of Splitting Defense Ministry 'Accepted' *[PAP]* 26
Zinc, Lead Miners Strike 'Demanding' Pay Hike *[PAP]* 26
Debt Reduction Agreement Signed With Austria *[PAP]* 27
Center Accord Leader Views Electoral Law *[DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 29-30 Jun]* 27

ROMANIA

Hungary's Jeszenszky, Nastase Exchange Letters *[Bucharest Radio]* 29
Defense Minister Spiroiu Interviewed *[LIBERTATEA 4-5 Jul]* 29
Vatra Romaneasca Reportedly Infiltrating Army *[ROMANIA LIBERA 6-7 Jul]* 31
News Conference Discusses Draft Constitution *[ROMPRES]* 32
'First Part' of Draft Constitution Published *[ROMPRES]* 32

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Markovic Prepared To Work in Serbian Assembly *[TANJUG]* 35
Markovic Discusses Vacancies in FEC, Ministries *[TANJUG]* 35
Press Roundup on Brioni Declaration *[TANJUG]* 35
Most Interrepublican Payments Halted by Crisis *[TANJUG]* 36
Presidency Members Complain About Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 36
Customs Officials Say Weapons Sent to Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 37
Situation on Border Crossing Roads Updated *[TANJUG]* 37
YPA Criticizes Territorial Defense Guidelines *[TANJUG]* 38
Army Colonel Denies Slovene Soldiers Mistreated *[TANJUG]* 38
Tupurkovski, Bogicevic Visit Ljubljana Barracks *[Belgrade TV]* 38
Letter Demands Release of Soldiers in Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 39
First Army Statement Recounts 8 Jul Clashes *[TANJUG]* 39
Government Denies Krsko Nuclear Plant Danger *[TANJUG]* 39
Sweden Receives Slovene, Croat Representatives *[Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER 5 Jul]* 40
BORBA Criticizes Austrian Position on Crisis *[TANJUG]* 40
EC Observers Arrive To Work Out Cease-Fire *[AFP]* 40
Ministry Promises To Investigate Village Attacks *[Budapest Radio]* 41

Slovenia

Reportage on Brioni Accords; Official Views 41
Assembly Endorses Brioni Accords *[AFP]* 41
Bucar, Peterle Comment *[Ljubljana Radio]* 41
Kucan Assembly Speech *[Ljubljana Radio]* 42
Rupel: Delegates Agree on Plan *[TANJUG]* 44
Official: Agreement a 'Catastrophe' *[Vienna Radio]* 45
SDP Party Upholds Declaration *[TANJUG]* 46
Kacin Statement at 9 Jul News Conference *[Ljubljana Radio]* 46
Presidency Sends Letter to Leaders *[Ljubljana Radio]* 48
Ministers 9 Jul News Conference Reported *[TANJUG]* 49
Chamber Hears Report on Danger of Economic War *Ljubljana Radio* 49

Parties Air Views on Brioni Document *[Belgrade Radio]* 49
Army Accused of Red Cross Insignia 'Abuse' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 50
Kacin Says YPA Not Honoring Agreements *[TANJUG]* 51
DELO: Customs Agreement Not Capitulation *[TANJUG]* 51
Minister Insists Army Violating Agreements *[TANJUG]* 51
Police Shoot at Soldiers Escaping From Barracks *[Ljubljana Radio]* 52
Medical Officer Reports on Treatment of Soldiers *[TANJUG]* 52

Croatia

Tudjman Appeals Against 'Recriminations' *[Zagreb Radio]* 52
Croatia Takes Brioni Agreement 'Seriously' *[TANJUG]* 53
Council To Request International Observer Teams *[TANJUG]* 53
East Slavonija's 3-Month Crisis Claims 90 Lives *[TANJUG]* 53
Over 9,500 Refugees Registered in Vojvodina *[Zagreb Radio]* 53
'Chetniks' Reportedly Burn Slavonian Village *[Budapest Radio]* 54
Domljan: Leaders Want 'Ethnically Pure Army' *[TANJUG]* 54
Police Confirm Barricades on Zadar-Benkovac Road *[TANJUG]* 54
Krajina Special Forces Lead 'Mop-Up Operations' *[Belgrade Radio]* 54
Army Increases Activity Around Benkovac *[Zagreb Radio]* 55
No Clashes in 'Crisis Regions' 9 Jul *[TANJUG]* 55
Army Order Seeks To Remove 'Defeatest Elements' *[TANJUG]* 55
Tanks Withdraw From Glina Police Station *[Zagreb Radio]* 56
Croatian Patrol Attacked in Tenja; No Casualties *[Zagreb Radio]* 56
Shooting, Explosions Reported in Vinkovci *[TANJUG]* 56

Serbia

Serbian Opposition Issues Protest Statement *[TANJUG]* 56
Number of Refugees From Croatia Increasing *[TANJUG]* 57

Macedonia

Tupurkovski Asks EC Guarantee for Peace Pact *[AFP]* 57
Presidency: No Reservists Deployed to Slovenia *[TANJUG]* 58

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnian Party Leaders Comments on Crisis *[TANJUG]* 58

Final CEMA Session Held in Budapest 28 Jun

Dissolution Protocol Signed

LD2806113991 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 28 Jun 91

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—After the shortest session in the history of Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance], lasting no more than 15 minutes, participants of the closing session signed a protocol agreement on the dissolution of Comecon in Budapest on Friday [28 June].

According to the agreement, the Comecon Charter, signed in Sofia in 1959, and subsequently modified in 1974 and in 1979, together with the 1985 Warsaw Convention, will be declared null and void within 90 days of the agreement being signed.

Participating in the 46th and final session of Comecon were government representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Poland, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, the Soviet Union and Vietnam.

In his opening speech, Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar, permanent representative of Hungary in Comecon, said it had already been recognized at the previous session that the relations of East-Central European countries did not match the changes in the international monetary system, and had not responded to the political and economic changes in the countries of the region.

A new turn in relations occurred at the beginning of 1991, when the countries switched to the trade and payment methods used on the international market. With this, it became clear that Comecon no longer had a part to play. [words indistinct]

A liquidation committee will be set up for settling legal, financial and other issues concerning the dissolution of Comecon.

Delegates Hold News Conference

LD2806235591 Budapest MTI in English 2031 GMT 28 Jun 91

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (MTI)—The heads of delegations to the 46th and last session of the Comecon summed up their ideas on its past and the future of regional cooperation in a press conference in Budapest on Friday.

Bela Kadar, Hungarian minister of international economic relations, recalled that Comecon had for long been de facto non-existent, and this situation has now been confirmed de jure. He emphasized that the one-time members would not cease their cooperation, in the future, economic relations would develop on a bilateral basis. The idea of establishing a forum to promote cooperation through the exchange of information and consultations was also raised, Kadar said.

Dariusz Ledworowski, head of the Polish delegation, said that the forum should be an open, European organization promoting the flow of information.

Vladimir Dlouhy, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, added that the European countries should grant a kind of preferential treatment for the non-European Comecon members.

Stepan Sitarian, the Soviet delegate, said that the Soviet Union wished to develop its ties with Mongolia, Vietnam and Cuba on a bilateral basis. If required, however, it is prepared to hold discussions on some form of multilateral cooperation. Sitarian stressed that the decline in trade between the Soviet Union and the former Comecon countries was not motivated by any political reasons. It was its internal difficulties that had forced the Soviet Union to sharply reduce the export of a number of goods, including crude oil and timber.

In reply to a question, Kadar said that the Soviet Government had announced its intention to purchase the Comecon assets, for the size of which there is no reliable data available. The property issues have to be settled by a liquidation committee in 90 days. The five European countries would welcome it if the assets were utilized in a way promoting future cooperation, Kadar said.

Viacheslav Sichov, Comecon secretary, said that the two Comecon banks did not belong to the structure of the organization so their future depends on the decisions of the founding countries.

'Economic Forum' Group Formed

AU2806200591 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 28 Jun 91

[Mikhaela Vazharova report]

[Text] Budapest, June 28 (BTA)—The new European economic organization, on the establishment of which Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the USSR and Romania reached an agreement in Budapest today, will probably be named Economic Forum. After the CMEA was closed down at its last 46th session today, representatives of these six states had an unofficial meeting. The concept is to create a light, nonbureaucratic, consultative structure. It could also help trade relations, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov told the BTA. He also believes a payments union possible, together with a possible membership of Austria and Finland in this open organization.

The six participants accepted Bulgaria's proposal to host the forum's establishment at the end of July. Experts from the six countries will come to Sofia on July 8-9 to prepare the constituent assembly.

The decision for the establishment of an economic forum is a serious diplomatic success of the six countries of Eastern Europe, and Bulgaria's part as host is an

acknowledgement of her contribution to the working out of the new realistic form of cooperation, said Mr. Tomov.

Warsaw Pact Dissolution Meeting Held in Prague

Havel Meets With Leaders

LD3006224191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1930 GMT 30 Jun 91

[Text] At Prague Castle today, President Vaclav Havel welcomed the delegations that are going to attend the last, historic session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee tomorrow. According to information provided by presidential spokesman Michael Zantovsky, Soviet Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev, head of the Soviet delegation, conveyed greetings to Vaclav Havel from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Vaclav Havel and Gennadiy Yanayev held talks about a bilateral agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and expressed conviction that the last differing views can be overcome soon and the agreement will be signed.

The talks also concerned the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. The two representatives agreed that, thanks to the Soviet military officials and the Czechoslovak representatives, the withdrawal was peaceful and dignified. They also discussed the possibility of newly developing relations in the sphere of economic cooperation using new reforms, including the setting up of joint enterprises and the pooling of investments. The two sides expressed the political will to develop mutual relations on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantages. The Czechoslovak president and the Soviet vice president also discussed the possible transit of Soviet troops from Germany through our territory, providing exact conditions are drawn up.

During a meeting between Vaclav Havel and Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, the two statesmen discussed bilateral relations, including a Czechoslovak-Bulgarian agreement which is being drafted. They agreed that there are no disputed questions regarding the agreement. They also discussed agreements of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria with the Soviet Union. They noted a common position on some disputed questions and expressed their readiness to consult with each other about their position on this issue. Vaclav Havel and Zhelyu Zhelev also discussed the situation in Yugoslavia and agreed it is necessary to tackle the problem in a peaceful way without violence, through political talks and dialogue.

During talks with Romanian President Ion Iliescu, Vaclav Havel discussed above all the relations between the two countries. They briefed each other about the progress of reforms and agreed that there are no disputed questions between Czechoslovakia and Romania. The preparation of a Czechoslovak-Romanian agreement is also progressing well. Vaclav Havel and Ion Iliescu expressed alarm about the events in Yugoslavia and agreed that in the interest of stability in the Balkans it is necessary to tackle the problem through talks. They also spoke about the process of European cooperation and security, about a network of bilateral agreements within the framework of the EC and the Helsinki process which should jointly form a new European security system.

Talks between Vaclav Havel and Jozsef Antall, premier of the Hungarian Government, concerned above all cooperation between Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland and relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They also discussed agreements with the Soviet Union and the situation in Yugoslavia which, according to their joint stand, should be solved through talks, without violence, while human rights as well as the right of the nations to self- determination and rights of the minorities are respected.

The Polish delegation led by President Lech Walesa will arrive in Prague tomorrow to attend the last historic session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

Iliescu Meets Havel, Zhelev

AU0107110391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1007 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague, ROMPRES 1/1/1991—Romania's President Ion Iliescu had interviews with Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, in Prague, where he attends the last session of the Warsaw Treaty.

The talks, attended also by the respective countries' foreign ministries, covered a wide area of problems—from those related to the session in Prague, the making final of the treaties with the two countries, the economic collaboration, to the problems concerning some critical issues in international life.

Referring to the talks, President Iliescu stated: "The interview with President Havel occasioned an exchange of views on the session of the committee and the document we will endorse on the termination of the treaty. Also, we talked about the importance to consolidate them in future, both in the political and economic fields and in the other domains.

"Politically, we noted the positive work done by the foreign ministers in the drafting of the bilateral treaty on a new basis, and prospects exist that it be completed soon.

"Also, emphasis was placed on the mutual interest in developing the economic relations. Generally the relations between our countries have a fine tradition. We have never had disputed issues, hence requisites are ready for these relations to develop in the new conditions.

"[Words indistinct]—political and economic—as well as in connection with the interest in developing and consolidations. Also, we have noted that the two foreign

ministries negotiate, and we intend to sign in July, a joint declaration on the bilateral relations at the prime ministers' level. We also want to make final the draft [words indistinct] taken to avoid mishaps at that power station.

"In both meetings, we have expressed our concern about [words indistinct] to avoid a worsening of the events that would be rather grave not only for Yugoslavia but also for the stability [word indistinct] political settlement."

Havel Opens Session

AU0407124491 Prage CTK in English 1222 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)— A new Europe divided into rich and poor, North and South, would be no more viable than the old Europe of East and West, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said today in his introductory speech to the last session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

"Provided we manage—and I believe that sooner or later we will actually manage—to define more precisely the content of concepts such as President Gorbachev's idea of a common European house, President Bush's idea of a new world order, or President Mitterrand's initiative for the creation of a European confederation," he said, "it will mean another step forward."

The new system of relations among Central and East European countries should be based on the principles of the Helsinki process—unconditional respect for sovereignty, adherence to human rights and fundamental freedoms, and good neighborly, cooperative relations, Havel said. Relations built on these bases will contribute to the former Soviet bloc states' full return to Europe, he stated.

"Abolishing the organization of the Warsaw Pact is not a signal for us to restrict the significance and extent of our relations with our former allies of the East bloc," Havel continued. "We are and we will remain not only geographic neighbors, but above all prominent partners who have something to offer each other and who are linked in many ways."

"The pan-European process is overcoming the former division of Europe, creating a new architecture based on a common system of values. We reject any conceptions that seek to isolate some states from the solution of European affairs and to form new dividing lines in Europe."

Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall mentioned the acute situation in Yugoslavia, the repercussions of which might have an adverse effect on the development of the whole European continent. Within the new Europe its parts must unite, he said.

Soviet Vice-President Gennadiy Yanayev noted that the Soviet Union reacted in time to world changes and drew the right conclusions from them.

He said the Soviet Government does not want to recall the last 36 years with nostalgia but wishes to be involved in the building of a new Europe. At the same time it wants to respect all principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the U.N. Charter.

Antall Addresses Pact Meeting

LD0107140391 Budapest MTI in English 1209 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague, July 1 (MTI)—Our common decision today cleared the way for the reshaping of our relations, and opened the road to Europe, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in the last session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Prague on July 1.

The new way of political thinking which started the process of transformation in the Soviet Union and made it possible to withdraw the Soviet troops from two East-Central European countries deserves some credit. I am confident that the European general public appreciates this development as a moral victory of the Soviet political leadership, making it possible for the countries in the region to lay their relations on new foundations and restore their full sovereignty.

As far as this session of historic importance is concerned, it is my special pleasure that, as the chairman of the Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee in June of 1990, I had the chance of initiating the complete revision of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Hungarian prime minister said that the European Communities, which were making rapid progress towards economic, monetary and political union, were committed supporters of the newly emerging East European democracies, and would establish associate partnership, with the ultimate prospect of full partnership, with three Central European states.

The Hungarian prime minister made it clear that 'we have a vested interest in all the countries of the region preserving their stability, being integrated into the framework of European relations, and coming abreast of the main stream of development in the unifying Europe.'

On the subject of Yugoslavia's internal crisis, the Hungarian prime minister said, 'we are thoroughly convinced that all nations should have the inalienable right to self-determination. We are witnessing nations being deprived of this basic right. The limitation of self-determination or sovereignty by the use of force is unacceptable to us. Its partial limitation may only take place by the free will of nations. Hungary has an interest in settling Yugoslavia's crisis peacefully, through negotiation.'

In conclusion, Antall said, 'It should not be allowed for further welfare partitions to emerge in the centre of Europe,' as these would militate against the interests of European development. Antall stressed that there was no

contradiction between the notions of a 'Europe of regions' and a 'united Europe'. 'Hungary's imminent associate membership will go beyond the agreements on commercial quotas with the Common Market. The development of comprehensive relations, wide-ranging political dialogue and co-operation with the EC points towards full membership,' Antall said.

'All of us should embark on the European road at our own pace. None of us should have an interest in anyone else foundering half-way, as they move from the demolition of old, moribund organizations to the establishment of the new replacing structures,' Antall said. The Hungarian prime minister ended his speech with the following words, 'we remain neighbours and will become friends.'

Bielecki Seeks CSCE Concept

LD0107214491 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague, July 1—Speaking to the last meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee on behalf of the Polish delegation, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki stressed that the Pact had only made an impression of providing a framework for cooperation of all Pact members on equal footing.

Poland is today removing the structures which are inadequate to Polish realities and discards the division of Europe, especially the attempts of political and military separation of the central and eastern part of the old continent.

Poland believes that the new system of European security should cover a wide range of measures including a vow to reduce and limit armaments, creation of new mechanisms of conflict prevention, and programmes to reach for in case of crisis.

Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki also said that the role of CSCE should be strengthened to provide "a broad geographical security zone. Europe must be treated as a whole and there can be no 'grey buffer zone' in Central and Eastern Europe as this would be a continuation of European divisions and postponement of the idea of united Europe," the prime minister said.

Zhelev Speech Reported

AU0107145291 Sofia BTA in English 1416 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague, July 1 (BTA)—Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev described the protocol on the termination of the Warsaw Pact which was signed today as a new step towards the liberation of European nations from the dire cold war legacy.

The model of relations on an unequal and undemocratic footing, the dominantly military orientation and the burden of unwarranted and regrettable actions built up over the decades led to this logical and natural end, Bulgaria's president stressed at the signing of the Warsaw Pact's "death certificate."

Dr. Zhelev pointed out that while now there may be a variety of opinions on the Warsaw Pact, history will ultimately pass a fair and balanced judgment over it. President Zhelev assessed the signing of the protocol in Prague as an expression of consensus on the fact that the new conditions of building a Europe whole and free deprive an alliance formed in entirely different circumstances of its raison d'etre.

The self-disbandment of the Warsaw Pact poses new challenges to its member countries but at the same time opens prospects for their expression as sovereign entities in international life and for their active part in building European security and cooperation structures. This will be a long process involving risks but Bulgaria is patient and resolved to shoulder its share of the common responsibility, Bulgaria's president said.

Dr. Zhelev expressed the conviction that now the former socialist countries will be able to tap the full potential for bilateral and, provided it is in their common interest, multilateral cooperation. According to Dr. Zhelev, the fundamentally new relations of friendship and good-neighbourliness should be based on the ten principles of the Helsinki Final Act and on the firm commitment to democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, economic democracy and social justice as proclaimed in the Paris Charter.

Bulgaria's president declared himself in favour of a strict mutual respect for the sovereign equality, political independence and interests of each country. The principle of equal security for all and full mutual respect for the freedom of choice will determine the new quality of relations in the security sphere. Dr. Zhelev expressed Bulgaria's readiness to hold "ad hoc" multilateral consultations among former Warsaw Pact member countries on matters of shared concern related to the maintenance of peace in Europe, including the conventional forces in Europe treaty.

"Our principal task now is to secure full and unqualified observance of all Paris accords," Dr. Zhelev said, stressing that Bulgaria attaches primary importance to the CSCE process. "We support the establishment of links between the newly-founded CSCE mechanisms and institutions and the existing organizations, such as the Council of Europe, the European Community, NATO, the Western European Union [WEU]," President Zhelev said. Elaborating on the promotion and prospects of Sofia's increasingly vigorous relations with these institutions in the context of democratic changes in his country, he listed Bulgaria's forthcoming admission as a full member of the Council of Europe, the tendency for integration in the European Community and for full membership when the appropriate prerequisites are created, and the wider contacts and dialogue with NATO and the WEU.

Bulgaria sets great store by its participation in Balkan cooperation which is becoming a component of the complexion of the region and an integral part of the CSCE process. "We are pleased with the growing support for our ideas on the creation of a permanent secretariat on Balkan cooperation and for wider cooperation on security problems. We are ready to join other regional initiatives and projects following the logic and principles of the CSCE process," President Zhelev said in conclusion.

Iliescu Addresses Prague Meeting

AU0207154891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2200 GMT 1 Jul 91

["Presidential Diary: President Iliescu's Address at the Prague Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/7/1991—Today's last meeting of the Political Consultative Committee is a special moment in the history of both our respective countries and Europe and the world as a whole. The act we are to sign today terminates the Warsaw Treaty. And the fact that this act is signed in Prague is of special significance, especially to us Romanians. Back in 1968 we refused to come to Prague and this time we came here with pleasure. The new conditions on the European continent, as mentioned in the Paris Charter, call for another type of relations not only with those we used to regard as our potential opponents until not long ago but also among ourselves, said President Ion Iliescu of Romania at the meeting in Prague.

President Iliescu reiterated Romania's will to work according to its possibilities for a united, peaceful and democratic Europe, for the achievement of an all-European system, of security and cooperation excluding the use and threat of force, rendering impossible any attempt at dividing the continent, securing equal conditions and opportunities for development and security to all the states. In our view, the CSCE process is the best (?proof) that that target will be attained, Mr. Iliescu said considering that with the fulfilment of that target in the offing we should look for the best solutions which can defend our security interests in the transition period.

In his opinion, pride of place should be given to bilateral relations. Virtually, President Iliescu said, there is a consensus to the effect that the old treaties of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, which are strongly contaminated by the ideological factor and by a spirit of confrontation, should be replaced by new, modern treaties of cooperation and good neighbourliness, which should offer a political and legal framework encouraging cooperation among our respective countries.

Romania intends to conclude like treaties with its neighbours, with the other countries in Central Europe and with West-European countries, including NATO member states.

We also think of other bilateral links conceived as an instrument to build up confidence and strengthen good neighbourliness, he also said and added: The recently signed Romanian-Hungarian "open skies" accord is a practical application of that orientation.

Romania conceives of its security also by strengthening its links with the states in its area, on a sub-regional basis. In this context, we—as a neighbouring country and by virtue of long-standing friendship traditions—should like to express our concern over the dramatic events in Yugoslavia and our direct interest in the stability, [word indistinct], and (?integrity) of the Yugoslav state. The process of achieving links with West-European structures is of special concern to us. We wish to develop our cooperation with the NATO, as an institution which virtually involves all the states participating in our meeting. We welcome the non-discriminatory approach of the North Atlantic Alliance to the countries that formerly belonged to the Warsaw Treaty.

Showing there were considerable discrepancies as concerns the degree of protection of the states participating in the CSCE process, as after the creation of a EEC political union some states will benefit from threefold protection (NATO, CSCE and the Union of Western Europe), others by dual protection and a third category by a single protection, President Iliescu said: The creation of a Europe of democracy, peace and unity calls for the results of the efforts and actions taken within the CSCE to ensure all the participating states the opportunity to become an equal end-user of existing institutions; it therefore calls for a guarantee of equal security for all states.

In connection with the economic situation in Eastern Europe, the president highlighted the fact that the economic gap was serious and that the stability of the continent as a whole was in danger unless efficient measures were taken to fill that gap.

The assistance of developed countries to all the countries involved in the transition to a market economy without discrimination plays a major role. The replacement of the "Iron Curtain" by another curtain separating the developed "West" from the developing "East" cannot contribute to the maintenance of European security, President Iliescu said.

Furthermore, he pointed out, Romania opines that a keen analysis is needed of the possibility to relaunch commercial accords, primarily on bilateral bases, the conclusion of new understandings on a European plane as part of the future negotiations on new disarmament, confidence-building and security measures, is of special interest to Romania. [Words indistinct] it is on the success of like negotiations that the progress of the CSCE process and the fulfilment of its final goal, that is, the achievement of an all-European security and cooperation system, depend to a great extent, President Iliescu also said, pointing out that Romania considered it necessary that any tendency towards resumption of the arms race should be avoided.

Any political-military competition is perceived as a new security risk, which renders essential the correct and

complete application of the provisions of the Paris Charter on a new Europe in the field of arms cuts.

To ensure Romania's national security in the newly created conditions we give special attention to the efforts for strengthening the relations of friendship, good neighbourhood and cooperation with our neighbours. We [words indistinct] outlook on the positive contribution like relations make to the gradual elimination of suspicion and mistrust as to this effort, as to our intention to live in peace with all our neighbours and the other European states, with all the countries of the world, the Romanian president also said.

Havel Closes Final Session

LD0107111491 Prague Federal Television Network in Czech 1019 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Address by CSFR President Vaclav Havel closing the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting held in Prague's Cernin Palace—live]

[Text] Messrs. Presidents, ladies and gentlemen: The signing of the protocol on the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact has concluded not only today's session but also the 36-year-long activity of this organanization. Today's decision is truly a historic one, because by it we are saying a final farewell to the era when Europe was divided by ideological intolerance. Before us we have a vision of a united, democratic, safe, and peaceful Europe. The path toward this vision will not be easy, as events of recent days have proven to us. Despite this, I believe that our part of Europe will come to terms with the call of the time and will make use of the opening possibilities to contribute to the new democratic setup of European affairs.

I see today as the beginning of an entirely new era in cooperation among our countries—cooperation which will be based on full equality and which will grow out of shared democratic values and humanist ideals.

Allow me at the end to wish us all a lot of patience, responsibility, prudence, tolerance, and goodwill. We shall need all this in the uneasy period of building new orders. We must not, however, leave the path that we have embarked upon.

Messrs. Presidents, ladies and gentlemen, I declare the last session of the Political Consultative Committee of the former Warsaw Pact closed. [applause]

Dissolution Protocol Signed 1 Jul

LD0107112591 Prague CTK in English 1109 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—Representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union today signed a protocol ending the 36-year existence of the Warsaw Pact.

The document says the Pact's member states have agreed that the May 1955 treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance known as the Warsaw Treaty becomes invalid on the day when the protocol signed today assumes validity.

The four-page protocol is subject to ratification and will become valid when the last ratification document has been deposited.

The parties to the protocol say they have no property claims resulting from the Warsaw Pact to one another.

The original protocol and the instruments of ratification will be deposited in Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Government will advise the other signatories every time a ratification document has been deposited.

Pact States Issue Communique

LD0107132491 Prague CTK in English 1221 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—Six East European nations which signed the protocol dissolving their Warsaw Pact today said in a communique they are prepared to hold bilateral or multilateral consultations on issues of mutual interest. This applies to questions related to the implementation of the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, the communique said.

It noted that new relations of good neighbourliness, partnership, mutual respect and friendly cooperation between equal sovereign states, those represented at the session, are appropriate to the present situation in Europe. On these grounds they will strive for the development of relations in all spheres, based on renewed bilateral agreements.

The participants called for the development of the all-European process to create new security and cooperation structures on the continent, in harmony with agreements reached at the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in November 1990.

All states represented at the session agree that stability, prosperity and the further development of democracy, based on respect for human rights and basic liberties in countries of central and Eastern Europe, are in the interest of all CSCE participants.

Havel News Conference Statement

LD0107132991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1222 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Statement by CSFR President Vaclav Havel at news conference by heads of Warsaw Pact delegation at Prague Castle—live]

[Text] As you all know, this morning we signed the protocol on terminating the activity of the Warsaw Pact. The Warsaw Pact does not exist from this afternoon.

During the internal session, representatives of member-states delivered their speeches. In all of them they stressed the historic importance of this moment, the fact that it is not just the end of one era but that a new era is beginning in which our countries will cooperate as partners with equal rights. All stressed the importance of new bilateral treaties that are being drafted. All stressed the importance of the Helsinki process as grounds on which new all-European security structures can be built. All agreed with the importance of the Paris Charter, and that in accordance with it and with the final documents of the Helsinki process they would also work on the new bilateral treaties being prepared.

The Warsaw Pact is dissolved. Within two months the governments of our countries will submit the protocol in question to our parliaments for approval. And it can be expected that by the end of this year, at the latest, these protocols will be formally ratified and the Warsaw Pact will cease to exist legally. There are no problems concerning property; these were already solved in the stage when the military structures of the Warsaw Pact were being abolished.

I am authorized to say one more thing here: After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact we discussed—already as representatives of fully sovereign states—the crisis situation in Yugoslavia. We agreed that we are very alarmed by this situation. We agreed that we support the initiatives of the European Community, which offer a certain procedure of political solution; and we agreed that, in the framework of the Helsinki process, we would take active part, perhaps even as individuals, in an effort to find a political solution to the situation in Yugoslavia.

Yanayev Urges NATO Dissolution

LD0107174791 Prague CTK in English 1629 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 1 (CTK)—Soviet Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev said here today he hopes that NATO as a cold war organisation will not survive the Warsaw Pact for long.

At a press conference following the final session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, Yanayev said he was pleased to note the changes in NATO attitudes apparent at its most recent sessions.

He said the Soviet Union believes that the abolition of the Warsaw Pact does not mean an end to close relations between its states, and added that the new political situation in Europe requires a new type of relations.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said that the governments of the former member states will submit protocols on the termination of the Warsaw Pact to the national parliaments for ratification within two months. The ratified protocols should be returned to Prague by the end of the year. Havel said there are no property disputes between the former Pact members.

Havel observed that the Pact's burial as a cold war relict took place in Prague which 23 years ago fell victim to a Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion.

Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall said the departure of the Soviet Union from central Europe will be a tremendous moral gain and Soviet prestige will grow.

Antall said at present there is no aggressive organisation in Europe and added that "in future the aim will be to create treaties that are not against but for something".

Polish President Lech Walesa said that though he disliked funerals, "something new should also be born in Europe"—but he did not yet know what that would be.

Proceedings of 9 Jul People's Assembly Session

AU1007095191 Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Tirana, July 10 (ATA) — On July 9 at noon the People's Assembly continued its proceedings in plenary sitting. The deputy chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Aleksander Meksi, who presided over the sitting, said among other things that the People's Assembly special commission to control the activity of the governmental services department is thought to be composed of these deputies: Bujar Kolaneci, Ali Kaza, Pjeter Dema, Gjyl Brahimi of the Socialist Party, Bardhyl Balteza and Maksim Konomi of the Democratic Party and Andrea Zarballa of Omonia.

The deputies approved the composition of this commission.

Then, Dr. Aleksander Meksi gave the floor to the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Zydi Pepa to forward the draft-law "on the land and draft-decisions of the government to solve the agrarian problems".

He said among other things that the countryside is as well suffering the grave economic and social situation our country is undergoing. This is manifested in the very backward level of production and delivery of many agricultural and livestock products.

Further on he said that the government of the country's stability being acquainted with the embarrassing problems has committed itself in its program to find a solution to them. Likewise the government has concentrated its work also on some other problems on which it has adopted decisions and is working to implement them.

He pointed out that the draft-law on the land makes up the key issue on which the agricultural stability depends. The draft-law opens the way to the solution of many other problems related to the present and the future of the country's stability. It does not impede the carrying out of foreign investments in our country, because it recognizes the foreign states and firms the right to use through rent territories for constructions with a schedule to be decided upon on the basis of the contract and the demand and offer.

The People's Assembly continues its proceedings.

Democratic Party Spokesman on Albanians in SFRY

AU1007101491 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 9 Jul 91 p 3

["Sz.Cs." signed interview with Genc Pollo, spokesman of the Albanian Democratic Party, over the telephone from Tirana; date not given: "Albania Is Watching Kosovo"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] Albanians are still watching events in the SFRY with strained attention, and, unfortunately, they believe that the situation of Albanians in Kosovo may well be ignored while problems are being settled. Genc Pollo told NEPSZAVA that this could lead to an escalation of the crisis and an opening of wounds.

[NEPSZAVA] Are we right in believing that, in relation to the events in the SFRY, Albania's foreign policy is marked by cool moderation?

[Pollo] I think that we are in an even more delicate situation than Hungarians in this instance, even though our problems are similar in a way. At the moment, Albanians in Kosovo are not enjoying the freedom of autonomy, just like Hungarians in Vojvodina. However, there are at least five times as many Albanians in Kosovo as there are Hungarians in Vojvodina. Nor should we conceal the fact that there is an enormous economic difference between Kosovo and Vojvodina, and dissatisfaction and tension are much more evident in Kosovo. As a last (but not insignificant) point, I would mention the fact that Albanians are far more temperamental, and that they are experiencing the present crisis in a different emotional way. Consequently, it is not a coincidence if Albania's foreign policy increasingly has to defend its policy of nonintervention. It would be a fatal mistake to forget that Kosovo is a part of Yugoslavia, but not a part of Serbia.

[NEPSZAVA] In what way do the Albanian troop movements along the Albanian-SFRY border and total combat readiness serve the interests of a calm policy?

[Pollo] According to our information from Sunday night [7 July], the situation remains unchanged along the border, but depending on events, they could call back the troops in a matter of hours.

[NEPSZAVA] Could the soldiers set off in the other direction?

[Pollo] Of course not! How can you say that?! When Albania joined the European security process in Berlin, it gained the most reassuring opportunity of settling moot points in a diplomatic context. Nobody here is afraid of an armed attack on Albania. However, we do need strict controls to slow down the influx of refugees. We were alarmed to see that at the recent funeral of an ethnic Albanian soldier, the service turned into a huge mass demonstration, and that was more than just a warning.

[NEPSZAVA] What stance does your party take in connection with this crisis?

[Pollo] I could give you the essence of our stance in one sentence: We fully support the fight of peoples for their right to self-determination.

[NEPSZAVA] Does that include the autonomy of Albanians in Kosovo?

[Pollo] Of course.

Constitution Passed; 'Virtual Split' of SDS

AU0907170891 Sofia BTA in English 1642 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—The passage of the constitution on third reading and the virtual split of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) are the highlights of the day.

After yesterday's decision of the SDS leadership to expel the opposition parties which will sign the new constitution, today the "excommunicated" parties signed an agreement.

This event, together with the passage of the new constitution after which the date for new elections is to be set, draw the attention to the new electoral bill. The parliamentary faction of the BZNS-United (consisting of representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party) demanded that the principles of the new electoral bill be formulated prior to the passage of the constitution. MP's from the BZNS-United insisted that the Grand National Assembly fulfill its resolution to dissolve on July 17. The members of the Agrarian Party favour a proportional representation system in the elections. There were opinions in favour of both the proportional and the majority systems in different SDS circles. The Bulgarian Socialist Party still says nothing about its preferences.

The split of the SDS into a SDS-Coalition and a SDS-Movement will probably catalyze the merger of the different agrarian parties into a single independent organization. The unification conference has been scheduled for July 27.

The opposition in Gabrovo protested against the passage of the constitution, describing it as insufficiently democratic. Most local correspondents, however, focus on the economic problems of their regions. A report came from the town of Silistra on the Danube that the paper plant there has ceased operation. The plant is unable to purchase raw materials and to pay its debts to the bank. Other businesses face similar problems.

Political organizations in Burgas complain against a monopolistic meat-packing plant. Over one tonne of overpriced sausages were burned, eight more will be re-processed. The losses are considerable, but the company refuses to reduce the products' prices.

Today the National Prices Commission with the Council of Ministers determined the ceiling prices of fuels for July. The prices have been reduced by ten to fifteen per cent.

Constitution To Be Signed on 12 Jul in Sofia

AU0907200391 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Today the Grand National Assembly passed the new constitution on third reading. The new constitution will be signed in the National Assembly building in Sofia on July 12. After that the Grand National Assembly will dissolve but will sit on as an ordinary National Assembly. Thus, parliament revoked its June 28 resolution under which the constitution was to be signed on July 17 in the city of Veliko Turnovo.

There is talk that the new decision was prompted by fears that parliament may come under external pressure. On Monday the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) said that it would not sign the constitution because it is undemocratic. However, a SDS-sponsored rally is scheduled for July 12 near the National Assembly building. Reports have been coming in that the opposition in a number of cities opposes the signing of the constitution.

The third reading of the constitution ended today with fixing an earlier date for its signing. The MP's rushed through the third reading in four days, debating undecided clauses only.

Today the MP's overwhelmingly voted in a new clause, according to which the MP's, the president, the vice president and the cabinet members will take an oath of office at the first sitting of the ordinary General Assembly, as envisaged under the new constitution. Thus, the MP's who walked out of parliament (60 from the SDS and 20 from the Movement for Rights and Freedoms) may lose their credentials if they refuse to return to parliament after its self-dissolution and take the oath.

Today the Podkrepa Labour Confederation suggested that the constitution be put to a referendum. A Podkrepa official told the National Radio that organizations dissatisfied with the new basic law threaten to stage protest actions.

SDS Splits After Parties Sign Separate Accord

AU0907183391 Sofia BTA in English 1752 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Today several parties and organizations of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) signed an election agreement. The document was signed by the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP), the Federation of Democracy Clubs, the Democratic Party in the City of Plovdiv, the Green Party, the Ecoglasnost Political Club and the Victims of Repression Club. The split in the SDS is already a legal fact, Mr. Ventsislav Buchvarov of the Democratic Party told BTA.

The document, which was made public yesterday, was signed by the BSDP leader Dr. Petur Dertliev, Mr. Petko Simeonov, leader of the Federation of Democracy Clubs, by Mr. Dimitur Batalov of the Victims of Repression Clubs and by Mr. Petur Slabakov of Ecoglasnost.

Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, leader of the Green Party, will sign the agreement upon his return from London.

The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS) will probably join the agreement. Its leader, Mr. Milan Drenchev, said that the party leadership will consider the matter.

The signatories to the agreement propound the thesis that the SDS is a coalition and not a nationwide movement, as was decided at the SDS National Conference on June 22. Under the agreement, each of the parties and organizations will preserve its ideological and organizational identity and will take part in the elections with its own platform. After the elections those of the parties which will win parliamentary seats will sign a new agreement.

The signatories to the agreement favour a proportional representation system with preferences.

They say that their agreement is open to organizations in and outside the SDS. But today the other SDS parties: the Democrats, the Radical Democrats, the United Democratic Centre and others, were not invited to the signing of the agreement. Those parties insist that party affiliations within the SDS be ignored and that the union turn into a nationwide movement.

Today Mr. Lyubomir Sobadzhiev of the Citizens Initiative Movement tried in vain to prevent the signing of the agreement. "We laughed at his arguments," Mr. Buchvarov told BTA.

The agreement, however, builds in a serious contradiction because the BSDP makes a deal with liberal parties and organizations.

Dimitrov Denies Split

AU1007061491 Sofia BTA in English 2000 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia 9 July (BTA)—Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), denies there is a split in the coalition.

"There is no rift in the SDS," Mr. Dimitrov said. Commenting on the election agreement signed between some of the SDS parties and organizations today, Mr. Dimitrov said that "this is a move taken by certain leaders."

Mr. Dimitrov's statement and the telephone interviews with the leaders of the right-wing parties in the SDS leave the impression that the SDS Coordinating Council and the radicals were caught unawares by the move of their former partners. Tomorrow they will hold a meeting after which they will probably express their position. It is not known whether the MP's who walked out of parliament will return to the ordinary National Assembly after the signing of the constitution.

BSDP Committee Assesses SDS Situation

AU0807214291 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 3 Jul 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Assessment of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party National Committee on the State of the Union of Democratic Forces"]

[Text] The National Committee of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] at its Fourth Extraordinary Session convened in accordance with Item 7 of Resolution No. 5 of 16 June 1991 discussed the work of the Union of Democratic Forces' [SDS] Third National Conference held in Sofia on 22 June 1991 and the decisions adopted at the conference.

The BSDP National Committee made the following assessments of the results of the aforementioned discussion:

The SDS Third National Conference was expected to be attended by more than 3,000 delegates from all over the country. The Credentials Committee recorded only 1,285 regular delegates, while nearly 500 of them did not participate in the vote on the decisions, a fact that justifies doubts about the legitimacy of the conference.

Despite the election of a special commission in charge of preparing the draft resolutions of the conference, the delegates received texts for voting on what had been drafted in advance by other groups. Decisions that had already been adopted were repeatedly amended and newly submitted to a vote. A disgraceful power struggle for leadership within the newly created "National Movement for Democracy—SDS" erupted during the conference between two of the movement's initiators—the group of 39 and the SDS Sofia City Consultative Council.

The atmosphere of intolerance for other people's opinions confirmed the total rejection of the democratic spirit by certain SDS circles. The representatives of the BSDP, the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Party [BZNS], the Green Party, "Ecoglasnost," the Club of the Repressed, and the Federation of Democracy Clubs—namely the founders of the SDS and leading forces of the democratic opposition in our country—rather than the communist system and its nomenklatura are now treated as the chief "enemy" of democracy. This is how the SDS National Conference in a most peculiar manner pursues the campaign of deliberately slandering and discrediting the moderate parties and movements within the SDS.

The decisions on separate SDS membership, on establishing "civic committees" entitled to nominate candidates for electoral functions in the central and local government organs, and the assertion of the National Conference as a supreme SDS organ—all these actions represent a decisive step forward along the path of transforming the SDS into a uniform "blue" party and virtually puts an end to the SDS as a democratic coalition.

The SDS National Conference once more confirmed the ideological confusion of the leaders and aktivists within

the "National Movement For Democracy—SDS." The crucial political, economic, and social problems characterizing the transitional period to democracy and market economy were once more disregarded for the sake of the internal power struggle within the SDS. Methods and ways of overcoming the national disaster were not discussed at the conference. The nebulous idea of a "normal state" was launched instead.

Against the background of an atmosphere characterized by gross street anticommunism the fact that the proposal of the Social Democrats on banning individuals who had been members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]/BSP over the last three years from the SDS election ticket appears more than strange. This fact confirms our misgivings that anticommunism is a mere pretext for concealing the current manifestations of selfish opportunism and lust for power prevailing within the "National Movement for Democracy—SDS" and the total absence of political ethics that distinguishes some of its leaders and aktivists.

* * *

The SDS Third National Conference categorically confirmed the misgivings of the BSDP National Committee related to the intensification of antidemocratic trends and the political adventurism that characterizes certain circles of the Bulgarian opposition. Under the cover of a noisily propagated slogan for "unity," the democratic unity of the opposition was virtually destroyed on the eve of the elections.

The manner in which the conference proceeded and the decisions adopted at it show that the SDS is ceasing to be a coalition of equal political forces and is turning into a centralized undemocratic formation. The democratic goals for the sake of which the SDS was initially created were tacitly replaced by undemocratic principles.

With their own behavior the leaders and activists of the "National Movement for Democracy—SDS" are forcing the democratic opposition to adopt the image of a destructive and aggressive force that repels the broad people's masses, making them turn away from the values of democracy. By its recent actions the "National Movement for Democracy—SDS" definitely betrayed the principles and goals of antitotalitarianism, thus discrediting the democratic opposition and causing it to lose the people's confidence and suffer a new election defeat.

BSP Seen Withholding Election System Preference

AU0907152491 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) believes that the adoption of the new constitution should not be linked with the passage of an electoral act, Mr. Dimitur Yonchev, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, said at the BSP regular press conference today. Mr. Yonchev declined to specify the type of election system his party prefers.

Yesterday Mr. Lyubomir Ivanov of the Green Party accused the BSP of deliberately withholding its view on the type of election system that should be adopted in Bulgaria and of filibustering the passage of the electoral act, thus making the September elections problematic.

According to Mr. Yonchev, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) has not demanded formally that the signing of the constitution be contingent on the electoral act. "We have heard only rumours," Mr. Yonchev said. Such linkage is "hardly the right and appropriate thing to do at the present moment." "There should be no bargaining over the constitution," Mr. Filip Bokov, member of the BSP Presidium said.

Mr. Zhan Videnov said that the electoral act is complicated and not likely to be passed by July 17 even on first reading. Earlier, parliament set July 17 as a deadline for the passage of the constitution.

Tomorrow the leaders of the political forces are to hold important consultations on the new electoral act. "If the BSP does not state formally its position on the act and on the type of election system, the SDS will submit its own bill to parliament," Mr. Lyubomir Ivanov told BTA later on. The SDS is said to have two bills, one worked out by representatives of several SDS parties and the other by Ecoglasnost.

Mr. Yonchev does not rule out the possibility of the constitution (which will probably de adopted on third reading today) being signed before July 17. If political objections are raised or parliament comes under external pressure, the constitution can be signed not in Veliko Turnovo but in Sofia.

BZNS-United on Nikola Petkov BZNS Walkout

AU0807142791 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 3 Jul 91 p 1

["Declaration of the BZNS-United Legislative Faction" on walkout of Nikola Petkov BZNS Grand National Assembly members; Sofia, 2 July 1991]

[Text] The legislative faction of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]-United was surprised by the decision of our like-minded colleagues from the Nikola Petkov BZNS to walk out of the Grand National Assembly. Until the last hour of the 28 June 1991 Friday

session they continued to declare their determination to continue the work on the constitution, which already was adopted at the second reading—and simultaneously, to continue the struggle for revoking Decree No. 922 and changing the Code on Applying the Law on Land, in order to fully accomplish the goal of returning the land to its owners.

We assess the decision to walk out of the legislature as a desertion from the struggle for the real defense of the interests of the Bulgarian peasants and Bulgarian democracy. This is a step that was dictated by the fear of the unification processes in the BZNS, and that is aimed at selfless goals and obtaining cheap political dividends.

Only one and a half months ago Mr. Milan Drenchev clearly stated at the Grand National Assembly: "From today onward the basic task is to adopt as soon as possible the constitution.... If there are forces that try to prevent this, it will be at their own expense, to their detriment, and will lead to their annihilation.... Without a constitution we are lost; we cannot play games of politics! We cannot play with elections and we cannot play with and abuse the bright feelings of the Bulgarian people, who are marching along this difficult road, and who would like to know where the road leads, and who the leaders are."

After all those oaths of loyalty to the legislative activity on Sunday, 30 June, the leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS adopted the panic decision to walk out of the legislature.

We, the people's representatives of the BZNS-United legislative faction, think that at the present dramatic moment of the country's development, we do not have the right to retreat even one step from the struggle for asserting Bulgarian democracy.

Loyal to the position expressed in the 11 June 1991 declaration, we remain in the legislature. This decision was adopted in order

—to prevent the collapse of the institutions which implement the country's political and economic reform;

—to fully complete our work on the new constitution;

—to vote for what is absolutely necessary—amending the code on Applying the Law on the Land, revoking Decree No. 922, and adopting the law on elections and the law on sentencing the culprits of the national catastrophe;

—and to adopt on 17 July the decision on the self-dissolving of the Grand National Assembly and setting the date for elections in September.

We will not allow the majority of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in the legislature to prevent the implementation of our goals, because as a minority, we have the powerful weapon of vetoing the signing of the constitution.

We remain in the legislature, where the laws on changing the totalitarian system are forged, precisely as the great democrat Nikola Petkov remained in the same Assembly hall until his arrest by the communist regime.

Sofia, 2 July 1991.

Stalev Denies Fraud in 1990 Elections

AU0907200091 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—Tonight Prof. Zhivko Stalev, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, denied allegations that last year's elections were rigged. Mr. Stalev dismissed the reports which have appeared in "DEMOKRATSIYA," the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), that there were 500,000 "ghost" voters in last year's elections.

"Voters were checked one by one," Prof. Stalev said.

"Such a large-scale falsification would have been hard to carry out," Mr. Stalev stressed.

Tomov Meets Mock, FRG's Toepfer in Vienna

AU1007084391 Sofia BTA in English 0731 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 10 (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, Bulgaria's deputy prime minister, held an hour-and-a-half session of talks with Dr. Alois Mock, minister of foreign affairs of Austria and former leader of the Austrian Peoples' Party. Mr. Tomov and Dr. Mock discussed the democratic process in Bulgaria and the situation in the Balkans in the context of the Yugoslav crisis. The Austrian foreign minister stressed the importance of Bulgaria's stability as a factor of Balkan peace and cooperation.

Dr. Mock emphasized that Bulgaria should no longer be treated as a second-class country as far as democracy is concerned.

Mr. Tomov conferred with Prof. Dr. Klaus Toepfer, minister for the environment, conservation and reactor safety of Germany. The ministers discussed the economic consequences of a possible shut-down of Units 1 and 2 of the Kozloduy N-plant and the opportunities to bring the plant into line with international standards. They also considered the direct link between safety and financing.

Mr. Tomov had meetings with Austrian MP's, with Mr. Wolfgang Schuessel, minister of economic affairs of Austria, and with Mr. Maderthaner, president of the Austrian Chamber of Commerce, and discussed with them aspects of economic cooperation. On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, Mr. Tomov thanked for the assistance rendered to Bulgaria in training privatization experts. The sides agreed to hold 24 more seminars on the issue. Mr. Tomov and Mr. Maderthaner considered projects for participation of Austrian companies in the construction of motorways in Bulgaria.

Results of Vienna Meeting on Kozloduy Reported

AU0907205791 Sofia BTA in English 2015 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Vienna, July 9 (BTA)—Two of the generating units of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power plant will probably be closed down soon. The IAEA mission's report on the condition of the plant was discussed here today at a meeting at the IAEA Headquarters. Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, Bulgaria's deputy prime minister, stressed that the problems of Bulgarian nuclear power industry are a legacy of the totalitarian past and that the incumbent government insists on full transparency and prioritizes safety above all other considerations.

Different views were expressed on the future of the power plant but the final decision rests with the Bulgarian Government.

Officials of the EC, the IAEA, the World Association of Nuclear Operators, the World Bank, the ministers of the environment of Germany and France, the deputy minister of energy of the USSR, representatives of different European countries, of the United States and Japan expressed their willingness to help Bulgaria solve the problem, as well as to render specific assistance on certain conditions.

The Bulgarian side said that units one and two of the power plant will be closed down within 40 days and that steps will be taken to prepare the other reactors.

The EC will send a mission to the Kozloduy Plant to make an expert assessment of the situation at the plant and work out a programme to bring the reactors into line with international safety standards. On Thursday the Commission of the European Communities will meet in Brussels to specify the nature of the assistance that each country can grant: money, equipment, or expertise, a representative of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers Press Centre told BTA.

IAEA Press Official Elaborates

AU1007064491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] The main subject of comment today will probably be what the highest-ranking experts decided at yesterday's meeting in Vienna concerning the future of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. We now offer part of the view expressed by Mr. David (?Keith), chief of the Press Center of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), with whom our reporter Tanya Kharizanova made contact late last night.

According to the agreements, the Nos. 1 and 2 Generating Units of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will be shut down in about a month. After these two units have been overhauled, similar operations will be carried out on Nos. 3 and 4 Units.

Item one of the agreement provides specific time schedules. The repair operations at the plant are to start during the next four to six weeks. Before Thursday [11 July], a new EC conference is to take place in Brussels, which will discuss Bulgaria's energy requirements and the ways they can be met during the overhaul period.

At yesterday's meeting in Vienna, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation, stated that almost $50 million will be needed for the first phase of the modernization. It was agreed that before the end of the Brussels meeting, Germany would send us technical equipment for Kozloduy.

In the meantime, the IAEA has announced that it will send experts to Sofia within 15 days to discuss further aid for our nuclear power industry.

Inflation Rate Still Expected To Rise

AU0907174091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 4 Jul 91 p 1

[Velichko Rangelova report: "Inflation for June is 5.9 Percent"]

[Text] For the period 15 May to 15 June this year, inflation is 5.9 percent, but the influence of the new fuel and energy prices began after 10-15 June, so that part of the inflation potential will be reflected in the next observation period.

The prices of different types of goods grew at different rates—foodstuffs by 0.9 percent; non-foodstuffs by 7.34 percent; and services by 7.30 percent.

During the period under review, not only are significant rises in the prices of fuel and energy observed but also in the following areas: 18 percent on heating fuels; 11 percent on non-material durable goods; 13 percent on furniture; 12 percent on passementerie; 9 percent on haberdashery; 8 percent on textile and tailoring articles; 23 percent on electricity; 16 percent on public baths and swimming pools; 20 percent on taxi services; 6 percent on public transport; and 26 percent on building and repair work.

As can be seen from these figures, prices are rising not only because of the influence of fuel and energy but also because of the influence of the market mechanism. In our assessment for the coming months, the combined influence of fuel and energy on the prices of remaining goods should not exceed 10-12 percent. The forecasts of some experts for an inflation rate of 20-30 percent influenced by fuel prices will turn out to be incorrect. The reduction in excise tax on liquid fuels will also cause a reduction in their price, and this will have en effect on the prices of remaining goods.

The wave of inflation, a result of the liberalization of fuel prices, has turned out to be quite bearable. However, it is high time to begin the revival of the economy considering that the more prolonged use of monetary measures can turn into factors that stimulate inflation instead of curbing it.

New Interest Rates To Be Introduced 10 Jul

AU0907195991 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—As of July 10, the National Bank of Bulgaria will introduce a new base interest rate of 47 percent. As a result, the State Savings Bank will determine the new interest rates which it will charge on loans and pay on deposits.

The minimum annual interest rate on credits will be 48 percent.

Trade Union Leader Petkov on Wage Bargaining

AU1007100591 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Jul 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given: "The Trade Unions Can Hold Out for Good Wages"]

[Excerpts] [TRUD] Let us start with the most topical issue. For two days it has been known that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation is postponing ratification of the Agreement for Social Peace. Does this sudden shift in Podkrepa's position alarm you?

[Petkov] The postponement of the ratification is a problem that should alarm the government most of all. Along with the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], the Podkrepa Labor Confederation is the government's social partner. I have information that Mr. Ludzhev has already held talks with the Podkrepa leadership on this issue. As far as we are concerned, this did not come as a complete surprise. We have been watching such reversals in Podkrepa's actions for some time, and we are already accustomed to them. However, I would emphasize that we did not discuss the ratification procedure during the negotiations on the Agreement on Social Peace. Podkrepa was represented by a sufficient number of its leaders, who also frequently consulted the leading organs of Podkrepa before adding Podkrepa's signature.

[TRUD] Does Podkrepa have any grounds for demanding changes in the wording of the Agreement, in the deadlines, and so on? Does the KNSB consider that the signed Agreement is a finished document?

[Petkov] Over 90 percent of the KNSB's original viewpoint is incorporated in the Agreement. Accordingly, we have fulfilled the instructions of the national consultative meeting and the KNSB Coordinating Council that were issued to us before the final phase of the negotiations. All of Podkrepa's important proposals have also been included (except the obviously unreasonable demand concerning the amounts of minimum wages). I recall that only hours before the signing, final corrections were made at the insistence of the two confederations.

It is true that the Agreement on Social Peace can still be further refined to reflect specific conditions. However, it should not become a work schedule. This is a framework agreement, political in nature, in the sense that it outlines the directions of the economic reform during the second stage and the most important measures for restructuring the economy and the population's social protection.

[TRUD] In some localities, practical work has already started on negotiating wages, despite the fact that the documents (the decree, government orders, and so on) have as yet not been published. Is this not being a little hasty?

[Petkov] I am surprised that certain trade union federations and organizations are already conducting training, before having the final version of the package of documents at their disposal (the package will be published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK on 9 July. As well as this, we should not be hasty in holding the actual negotiations in the companies and enterprises, but should wait until the KNSB has prepared all the manuals and guides that will help the trade union organizations to formulate their positions. [passage omitted]

[TRUD] Is training the only thing necessary in the preparations for the negotiations?

[Petkov] No, there is a further important aspect, namely to establish the legitimacy of the negotiating parties—the employers and the trade union organizations. In actual fact, our confederation has been working hard on this issue recently. We submitted a proposal on establishing legitimacy to the Trilateral Commission for Coordinating Interests, and are waiting for the government and Podkrepa to respond, in order for us to adopt a joint document. Only then will it be valid for the negotiating parties. [passage omitted]

[TRUD] How will you introduce order into this trade union jungle? Is there not a danger of creating instability in the organizations as a result of the demand for establishing legitimacy?

[Petkov] The situation is not so complicated as that. In the case of the trade union organizations in the enterprises and companies, they will have to call a special meeting (a general meeting or delegates' meeting) in order to adopt their initial platform for holding wage negotiations and, if necessary, on the other elements of the collective labor negotiations as well. The same meeting should appoint the members of the group that will negotiate with the employers, as well as the leader of the trade union delegation to the negotiations. It is logical and most natural for this person to be the trade

union ch..rman, because the very essence of trade unionism lies in defending interests through negotiations, especially as regards wages. A trade union chairman who fails to win the worker's trust cannot perform this job, and therefore should withdraw from the post.

These three main requirements should be fulfilled without fail, before starting the actual negotiations. In its turn, the confederation will carry out an internal registration of its organizations and will keep an eye on the changes in these organizations. On 4 July the KNSB Executive Committee adopted an appropriate decision on this issue, which will be sent out to our organizations. [passage omitted]

[TRUD] What else does the KNSB envisage in connection with the forthcoming wage bargaining?

[Petkov] We have formed four or five teams to offer consultations and practical assistance to the trade union organizations, which will be led by deputy chairmen or members of the KNSB Executive Committee. I hope that these teams will substantially supplement the help that the confederation will give its organizations through the experts in the regional trade union protection centers and the municipal coordinators. Of course, now most of the burden rests on the shoulders of the leaders and experts of the relevant federations. They should lead the play, and I hope that they have already realized that the ball is in their court.

The issue of how wages will be negotiated, and at what levels, will depend to a crucial extent on the sector, branch, company, or enterprise, and on the strength and competence of our organizations at these levels.

Results of Pushkarov USSR Visit Assessed

AU0907170991 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 4 Jul 91 p 2

[Vasil Asparukhov report: "What Are the Results of Pushkarov's USSR Visit?"]

[Excerpts] The giant Ruse plant for machine building equipment, which does not know what to do with its production, may be reassured. As a result of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov's visit to the Soviet Union and his talks with Gorbachev, Pavlov, and Silyaev, Minister Pushkarov has now returned with good news from his latest visit to the USSR. Pushkarov's Moscow talks provide opportunities for the production of prospecting equipment for the Soviet oil industry, which purchases such equipment for an annual amount of more than $10 billion. A working meeting with representatives of the U.S. Embassy in our country was held at the Ministry of Industry and Technology yesterday. The U.S. representatives assumed the task of contributing to the establishment of contacts with a leading U.S. company in this sphere. If this is successful, the company in question may participate in a "joint venture" in the production of oil prospecting equipment. This should provide opportunities for opening World Bank credits.

The Italian FIAT Corporation is about to purchase over 50 percent of the Soviet "VAZ" Company shares. It is almost certain that our "Avtoelektronika" Association will participate in this business transaction, worth one billion [currency not specified]. It may also involve the cooperation of a Western company for the modernization of its production. All this should provide earnings for tens of thousands of our compatriots.

Minister Pushkarov was the first opposition minister from a foreign country who had access to the Soviet military industry empire. According to him, this is a parallel economic branch which produces as much as the rest of the existing Soviet economic branches. [passage omitted]

Through "joint ventures" with Soviet enterprises and the involvement of companies from third countries, a very progressive form of cooperation called "triple joint venture" can be achieved. Bulgaria thus has every chance of playing the role of an economic bridge between East and West.

The Bulgarian representatives explained to their USSR partners that we are no longer in a position to purchase Soviet machine building goods for investment projects on the grounds that we are not expected to undertake any such projects for the next 1-2 years. The Bulgarian stand was accepted with understanding. Barter deals have again been authorized by the Soviet Union, after a ban lasting several months. Indicative lists of goods [indikativni spisutsi] have also considerably expanded, but the question of payments is still unresolved.

As far as the future presence of Bulgarian workers in Komi is concerned, Pushkarov pointed out that it will soon be discussed on a priority basis. It is, however, evident that there is no point at all in importing timber from the Soviet Union to our country. We have already conducted successful negotiations with a company in Finland that is expected to build a processing factory in Komi, while part of the cellulose should be produced in our country. The "Khranmash" Association has already agreed with Komi to import newsprint in exchange for conveyor belts for bread and soft drinks factories.

New Treaty To Be Signed With USSR

AU1007081991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Jul 91 p 1

[DUMA PRESS report: "Treaty Between Bulgaria and USSR Will Be Signed Before End of Year"]

[Text] The joint declaration of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Bulgaria, which was widely distributed and quoted by TASS on 5 July, points out that while acknowledging the deep democratic transformations in the two countries and the significant changes in the European and international

situation, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria believe that it is essential that the contractual basis of their relations is renewed and that by the end of the year at the latest, a new wide-ranging political treaty be worked out and signed. On 5 July, Bulgarian Television announced that when this new treaty comes into force it will supersede the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid signed on 12 May 1967, between the USSR and Bulgaria.

Dutch National Arrested for Spying

AU0907163491 Sofia BTA in English 1516 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA)—The National Security Service in cooperation with the military counterintelligence have arrested the Dutch citizen Geoffrey Johanes Maria Van Sumeren [name as received]. Criminal proceedings have been instituted against the 21-year old Dutchman who is in Bulgaria for the second time. Photographic equipment, binoculars and a map with military installations plotted on it have been seized from Mr. Sumeren. The Dutchman travelled on bicycle off the main roads and gathered military information for an interested alien power and intelligence service.

Mr. Sumeren is now detained the criminal investigation department. According to the representative of the Internal Affairs Directorate in the town of Yambol, who supplied the above information, the Dutchman had a cover for his actions.

Changing 'Nature' of Border With Macedonia

AU1007083491 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Jul 91 p 4

[Mikhail L. Ognyanov article: "Our Brothers Must Feel Our Shoulder"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Bulgaria has pledged that it will not shift its present borders, however, it should strive toward renewing our relations with our neighbors in a way that will allow us to change the nature [smisul] of those borders. The development of our mentality, which considers us as modern Europeans, also includes our attitude toward our national issues. The Macedonian issue occupies first place among them. Regardless of how painful and acute our topical internal-political problems are, they are of a transitional nature in comparison with our all-national problems. Many Bulgarians think that if we no longer have territorial interests toward a certain land, we should not be interested in its fate. It is high time to overcome this obsolete attitude. If not from the territorial point of view, then at least from the historical—and this also means spiritual—point of view, Macedonia cannot be separated from Bulgaria. It has taken part in our thousand-year-old past, when the Bulgarian nation was formed. This could not be taken away from Bulgaria without thus denying the existence of the Bulgarian nation itself. If Bulgaria forgets Macedonia it will disavow itself. The Bulgarians must desire the existence of the Macedonian Republic precisely as they desire the existence of the Bulgarian state. [passage omitted on the celebration of Macedonian cultural events in Bulgaria]

Now we should ignore the hard words that our brothers who live along the River Vardar often address to Bulgaria. The truth will inevitably be restored. This is the truth about the common roots, the reasons for the delusions, and our mistakes. This really is a verbal controversy between Bulgarians and Bulgarians who now have a different name. Today the existence of the Republic of Macedonia is the paramount issue, and the fate of Macedonia must focus our interest toward the current events in Yugoslavia. The very existence of the Republic of Macedonia is at stake. It would have no chance of surviving in "Serboslavia." If the Republic of Macedonia survives it will be Bulgaria's closest sister. When both we and they complete the trying road toward democracy we shall meet in the Europe that is being constructed now. Then all deceptions, ramblings, and errors will become a bad memory.

There was a time when the population of Macedonia relied on Bulgaria, precisely as once St. Kliment "relied on Bulgaria and sought salvation in it." However, during the past century Bulgaria could not help Macedonia. Especially after World War II the population of Vardar Macedonia saw itself forgotten by, and alienated from, its compatriots in Bulgaria in a period when it had to do whatever it could in order to save its identity. Preconditions were created for adopting a "pure Macedonian" self-consciousness.

The issue that today moves the people in the Republic of Macedonia is whether there will be a "third Yugoslavia," or whether Macedonia should choose its own path alone. The first Yugoslavia was a kingdom, the second—Tito's domain. Both were burdened by the original Versailles sin. Europe does not understand this, and precisely as at the time of the Ilinden Insurrection, it demands the preservation of the status quo. Even the former vassals of Tito in Macedonia say today that the "second Yugoslavia" does not exist any longer. They do not believe that the great Serbian illusions could be eliminated and a union of sovereign states could be formed. The "Serboslavia" variant is lethal for the Republic of Macedonia. Is the solution in forming a separate Macedonian state "with the right to associate with whatever state it wants?"

Whatever direction the events in Yugoslavia take, the Macedonians in Vardar Macedonia must feel our fraternal shoulder.

Foreign Ministry Responds to SFRY Protest

AU0907152691 Prague CTK in English 1423 GMT 6 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 6 (CTK)— Czechoslovakia continues to regard Yugoslavia as a single country under international law but will respect whatever agreement will be reached by the nations of Yugoslavia on the present crisis, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry said in a statement last night.

The ministry was replying to yesterday's Yugoslav protest against a Czechoslovak Government statement of July 4, which said that Yugoslavia "overreacted militarily" to the declarations of sovereignty and independence by the democratically elected bodies of Slovenia and Croatia.

"The Czechoslovak Government statement does not mean any change in Czechoslovakia's attitude toward Yugoslavia," the Foreign Ministry said and described the Yugoslav Government reaction as "unnecessarily irritated."

Czechoslovak Ambassador Frantisek Lipka was summoned to the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Friday [5 July] and told that the Czechoslovak Government statement was an attempt to violate the sovereignty of Yugoslavia and an act of gross interference in its internal affairs, in conflict with the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Last night's Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry statement said the Czechoslovak stand is based on the CSCE principles, including the right to self-determination, use of democratic procedures, and full respect for human rights.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry statement was critical of Yugoslav Army actions as well as the escalation of nationalist violence and unilateral acts.

"However, the freely expressed will of the Croatian and Slovene peoples cannot be violently suppressed. We would prefer an agreement on the coexistence of the nations of Yugoslavia. However, we will respect any result that they will arrive at through agreement," the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry said.

It noted that twice in this century not only Europe but the whole world have paid for national conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe with war.

"This is why we support an exclusively peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis," the Foreign Ministry said and expressed support for the three-point agreement concluded by the sides in the Yugoslav conflict with the three-member European Community mission, the conclusions of the Prague meeting of CSCE envoys, and the decisions of the EC foreign ministers made in The Hague on July 5.

Hungary's Antall, Havel Discuss European Issues

LD0107115291 Budapest MTI in English 0955 GMT 1 Jul 91

[Text] Prague, July 1 (MTI)—The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) will be an important contribution to the complete elimination of the vestiges of the Cold War and the establishment of a new structure of European security, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall established in a tete-a-tete that lasted for an hour in Prague on Monday.

Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary of foreign affairs, told MTI that the sides had exchanged views on the G-7 summit in London. They stressed that both Czechoslovakia and Hungary expected the support to be granted by the advanced industrial states to the Soviet Union not to violate the interests of the East-Central European states. They also expect the G-7 to pay special attention to this region, irrespective of their support for the Soviet Union. Since Prague and Budapest hold identical views on this issue, the two foreign ministers were instructed to contact their Polish counterpart and try to inform the G-7 of their coordinated standpoint.

Antall and Havel exchanged views on the Yugoslav situation, and agreed that a solution should be looked for through negotiations, without the use of force and with respect for human rights.

Concerning the development of Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish co-operation, the two politicians stressed the need to apply uniform terminology in their co-operation agreements, which would comply with the general European practice and the agreements between the West European states. Prague and Budapest share the view that Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, in their treaties to be concluded with the Soviet Union, should not accept any stipulation limiting their sovereignty. They should accept, however, that the just security interests of the Soviet Union be taken into account, Somogyi said.

Langos on Intelligence Service Work

AU0907190191 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 Jun 91 p 6

[Interview with Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos by Kazimir Janoska; place and date not given: "An Agency without Agents"—first paragraph is PRACE introduction]

[Text] The days that followed 17 November 1989 have settled scores, among other things, with one of the most capable and "firm" pillars of the previous totalitarian regime—State Security. Yet it is impossible to imagine the functioning of a modern democratic society without an institution that would deal with the state's internal security. This is why we "interrogated" Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos on a subject that will always inflame the public, not only today, but apparently also in the future.

[Janoska] A few days ago, the Federal Assembly passed a law on the Federal Security and Information Service [FIS]. In what way will our present practices for protecting constitutionality and democracy be changed by this?

[Langos] At present, the FIS is directly subordinate to the CSFR Interior Minister and is materially and financially dependent on the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Despite the fact that the director—as related to this service—has authority of a deputy [minister], I bear full responsibility for the FIS's work. Apart from this dependency, the current legal amendment to the law does not allow FIS staff to use operational technology [operativni technika] (mainly wire tapping) except in cases when a criminal prosecution has been launched. Of course, this must be done with the approval of the prosecutor. As soon as the law comes into force, the FIS's subordination to the minister and to the Interior Ministry will cease and the FIS will accept tasks from the CSFR Government, as a collective organ. On the other hand, its activity will be absolutely independently supervised by a special supervision organ elected for this purpose by the Federal Assembly. The adopted law makes this supervision relatively uncontroversial because it defines the rights and duties of the FIS and its officials. To put it simply: Everything is prohibited that this law and other laws do not permit.

[Janoska] The preparations for and the discussions on the law in the Federal Assembly aroused considerable attention among the public. On the other hand, fears have appeared—and this was also voiced in the discussions on the law—that this service could later be used against the citizens....

[Langos] The law on the FIS and its activity not only defines but, at the same time, protects—together with legislative control—society and citizens from undesirable and unlawful interventions in their legal rights. However, the basic prerequisite is that no single party and no single ideology should again control the legislature and society's entire life. In an open society the only reliable protection of democracy is political plurality. Intelligence services are just a necessary "evil." For the sake of its own stability, the state needs to know about and keep tabs on the secret activities of organizations whose objective is to attain political changes through illegal means. Such organizations exist abroad and also in our country. At the same time, it is the duty of the state to protect the basic rights and freedoms of every citizen. If intelligence services work in a secret manner, it is only natural that there are fears about their abuse. However, many other phenomena, whose background we do not know about—but which we have to be aware of—also raise fears. There will always be tension caused by these two words, which many politicians use, and will use, for their political goals.... However, citizens will easily recognize this.

[Janoska] Can you specify the rights that the FIS will have in relation to the republican organs of the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic Interior Ministries?

[Langos] The relationship with the Interior Ministry republican organs will be one of partnership. In some cities, the FIS has its offices and officials who will—based on the principle of voluntarism—maintain contacts with citizens, regional organs, and the police.

[Janoska] The passing of the law on the FIS only creates prerequisites for the full and efficient operation of this service "sometime in the future...." How long will it take, in your opinion, before the FIS is fully capable of action?

[Langos] Every intelligence service has a long-term tendency toward expansion and toward making its service "more efficient." The controlling organ—the Federal Assembly, its Defense and Security Committees, and, finally, also the plenum—will have an opportunity to evaluate FIS activity every year and to regulate this tendency by approving its budget. I make it clear that it will be very difficult to measure the efficiency of the FIS's work, since its task will be to provide the government with all the necessary information on the intentions of individuals—but, above all, of non-public organizations in this country and abroad—that are capable of using physical force in pursuit of their goals or of grossly violating the constitution. The efficiency of the work cannot be measured by the number of convicted "spies." The exposure of a spy is frequently considered a failure, since by doing this, the [intelligence] service loses an opportunity to gather information on the intentions of a foreign intelligence service—and this is the issue involved here. This is only an illustrative example.

[Janoska] The law defines control mechanisms over FIS activity.... Do you not believe that this will put a curb on security service activity?

[Langos] Supervision of the FIS will be, in fact, supervision of respect for the law. The mechanisms will control whether the FIS only works on the tasks defined by law and entrusted to it by the government; they will oversee whether the use of operative means [operativni prostredky], particularly wire tapping and bugging, are really unavoidable in individual cases. The members of the controlling organ—deputies—will have to be trusted that they will not try to mar FIS activity and that they themselves will define limits within which they will execute control in practice.

[Janoska] What should the general public think under the term "agency means," that the FIS will use to fulfill its tasks?

[Langos] This means wire tapping, intercepting written messages, and monitoring the observed persons' movements and contacts in public places. However, the FIS is obliged to use the first two means only sparingly and exclusively with the prosecutor's permission. The main and the most "efficient" means will be undercover work, that is, FIS officials will really be "secret workers," yet, at the same time, they will not be allowed to force information out of anyone in any manner.

[Janoska] As the saying goes, if the devil cannot do it himself, he will find a woman to do it for him, that is, the agency's means without "agents" will be practically useless.... How is the FIS going to solve this problem, if the public still feels a great aversion toward the former network of State Security agents, or its members, as the case may be?

[Langos] I believe that, as time goes on, there will be enough good-will and trust.

[Janoska] It is no secret that, at this very moment, the CSFR is a large arena for foreign intelligence services. What tasks will the FIS fulfill in this regard?

[Janoska] Agents from foreign intelligence services work in the CSFR, as well as in any other open and democratic country. Some of them gather information from open sources, others may try to perform so-called active influential activity [vlivova cinnost]. The FIS's work will have to get onto the same level as foreign intelligence services' work.

[Langos] The law on the FIS has been passed in the Federal Assembly in the form in which it was proposed.... To what extent are you satisfied, or dissatisfied, with its wording?

[Janoska] The law on the FIS is a completely new legal norm and is unique in the former East bloc countries. At the same time, it is supposed to legalize activity that can support—or put at risk—the democratic mechanisms in society. Polemical discussions on this subject have been conducted in Western democracies for decades and legal norms have not been adopted everywhere. Only the application of the law can disclose its pluses and minuses.

Environment Protection Law Passed

LD0907192691 Prague CTK in English 1332 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Prague July 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) passed an environmental protection bill today replacing legislation in effect since 1967. The new law allows the individual republics to fine polluters up to 1,000 million USD [U.S. dollars] for any violation of its provisions.

Josef Vavrousek, minister-chairman of the Federal Committee for the Protection of the Environment, said pollution is one of the worst problems confronting Czechoslovakia. He said one half of the population in the Czech Republic and one third of that in Slovakia live in a heavily polluted environment.

Vavrousek said the new law conforms to standards set by the European Community and the World Health Organization.

Carnogursky Supports Moravian Sovereignty

AU0907202091 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 8 Jul 91 p 2

[CTK report on interviews with Jan Carnogursky, Slovak prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, in Devin on 5 July: "Success Will Come in Time"]

[Text] Devin—Slovakia supports the idea of Moravian and Silesian independence. Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Republic prime minister and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, made this statement in an interview with Zdenek Vyhlidal, editor-in-chief of the Brno weekly MORAVSKOSLEZSKA ORLICE and press secretary of the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, in Devin during the Cyril and Methodius celebrations.

In another interview, answering a question of a CTK correspondent about his stand regarding the opinion of the Czech representation, which claims that Slovakia fundamentally opposes the recognition of Moravian and Silesian autonomy, Carnogursky said: "Exactly the opposite is true. It is a little different in Slovakia because some consider this issue an internal problem of the Czech Republic, although they support a constitution of a certain autonomy within the framework of the Czech Republic. Others would welcome a higher status for Moravia. I do not make any secret of the fact that I belong to this group. I am convinced that Slovakia and Moravia could proceed jointly in many important political questions, and we could thereby change the strategic orientation of the entire republic. At the same time, as a realist, I have difficulties when trying to explain this stand in Slovakia as well as in the framework of our Christian Democratic Movement. However, I believe that success will come in time," Jan Carnogursky stated.

Minister Comments on Agriculture Problems, Policy

AU0907120891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Jul 91 p 3

[Interview with Slovak Agriculture and Food Minister Jozef Krsek by Jana Janku, place and date not given: "Giving Little Is Bad; Giving Much Even Worse"—opening paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Excerpts] The threat that on 10 July farmers will halt deliveries of their products and block access roads with them has not been averted. A specific solution to the problems of agriculture was indicated by last week's talks

at Zidlochovice. The Zidlochovice meeting also was the point of departure for our interview with Engineer Jozef Krsek, Slovak minister of agriculture and food:

[Janku] CSFR Deputy Minister of Finance I. Kocarnik conceded in Zidlochovice that the government must learn from the mistakes made in the subsidy policy during the first half of the year. To which mistakes does the government admit?

[Krsek] The chief mistake was that the government subsidized what we want to get rid of, especially cattle breeding. At the time the subsidy calculations were made, we did not foresee such a drastic decline of meat consumption.

[Janku] What, then, will be subsidized henceforth?

[Krsek] Cuts in the cattle herds. The only people who will qualify for a subsidy are those who breed as many cows as will ensure that the appropriate amount of meat and milk is produced in a given region, taking into account the acreage of permanent grasslands and arable land as well as the region's population. Also, only those who sell breeding heifers that receive the "category A" rating will qualify for a subsidy.

[Janku] What about the subsidization of other products?

[Krsek] Nothing is being changed, as far as subsidies from the Slovak Market Regulation Fund are concerned.

[Janku] The participants in the Zidlochovice talks also agreed on the establishment of a Regulatory Council over the two republics' Market Regulation Funds, which should administer a third such fund. Do the republics again need supervision by a third party?

[Krsek] The Council has been established because the beef and butter surplus has reached a scale with which the republics' funds are unable to cope. Deputy Minister Kocarnik made it absolutely clear that no additional funds from the federal budget's surplus can be allocated to the republics' funds.

[Janku] Who will be in charge of the third fund, given that a Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food no longer exists?

[Krsek] A commission will be established consisting of all three ministers of finance, the two ministers of agriculture and food, and Federal Deputy Prime Minister Vales.

[Janku] Would the republics not be able to cope with the situation on their own?

[Krsek] In my opinion they would. I do not believe that we need additional commissions. In my opinion, the funds from the federal budget earmarked for subsidizing agricultural surpluses ought to be allotted to the republics' Market Regulation Funds.

[Janku] What are the current estimates of food surpluses in Slovakia?

[Krsek] We expect a 460,000-ton surplus of grain, 50,000-ton surplus of oil-bearing crops, 110,000-ton surplus of beef, and about a 400,000-ton surplus of milk for the whole year. Milk is not a problem, however, for we are able to export it in powdered form. A bigger problem is the 15,000 to 20,000-ton surplus of butter.

[Janku] It is being said that the crisis in sales can be settled only through exports and that the state will not subsidize the domestic market. Does this not mean that, instead of making food more accessible for our own people, we will be subsidizing food prices for Germans, Italians, and others?

[Krsek] This is exactly why I went to see Mr. Kocarnik on 3 July. Together with two CSFR Ministry of Finance department heads, he tried to convince me that the only way to create a market is to do away with subsidies. They claimed that even in the second quarter of the year, when beef prices were 50 percent lower than in the first quarter, people did not buy more beef and consumption did not rise. Price cuts will not, supposedly, help us get rid of the surpluses. Deputy Minister Kocarnik made payments from the central federal fund conditional on these payments not being used to subsidize the price of meat on the domestic market.

[Janku] Nothing for us, in other words.

[Krsek] We in Slovakia have agreed that in July we will continue to pay [producers] the supplementary payment for milk [which offsets the difference between production costs and the procurement price] at the present level, plus the supplementary payment for up to 60 percent of the procured amount of cattle. Moreover, we will subsidize 3 percent of meat export deliveries, on the basis of the quantities exported last year.

[Janku] In other words, there will not be any changes in July. What will be the effect of changes in subsidies on the retail prices as of August?

[Krsek] The price of milk can be expected to go up by about 1.40 korunas per liter and prices of cheese by an average of 10 to 12 korunas per kilogram—provided, of course, that the economists prove wrong those who claim that farmers will be forced to accept lower procurement prices because production costs in the summer months are lower. In that case the retail prices of milk and meat would remain unchanged. [passage omitted]

[Janku] The farmers await the harvest with anxiety, fearing that they will be stuck with the grain....

[Krsek] We have held talks with procurement organizations and reached the agreement that within three months, at the latest, they will procure all grain in accordance with concluded contracts. They are to procure the grain for guaranteed prices—3,400 korunas per ton of wheat and 3,200 korunas per ton of rye. This would, however, be projected into a 20 to 30 percent rise in the retail prices of flour and bakery products. This is what we did not want to happen because the production

costs of grain are lower. This is why, following an agreement with the Czech Republic, we propose that the guaranteed procurement price of wheat be lowered to 3,000 korunas and of rye to 2,800 korunas per ton, on the understanding that the state will procure the entire harvest. Surpluses would be procured by the Market Regulation Fund. [passage omitted]

[Janku] About 90 percent of state farms and cooperative farms in Slovakia are insolvent. Is the absence of a state agrarian policy not one of the reasons for this situation?

[Krsek] This is not the reason. We should not forget that agriculture enterprises do not start recouping the production costs that they incur in the first half of the year before the second half of the year when profits from sold output start coming in. The present bad situation has been caused primarily by the high interest rates at which banks have been granting credits and by surpluses of food that cannot be sold. The situation should improve soon. The concept of an agrarian policy has already been drafted and will soon be presented to the farmers and the public at large. [passage omitted]

[Janku] One last question: How do you view the step of the MOVA Slusovice agricultural cooperative, which had itself registered in Bratislava?

[Krsek] We are not opposed to anything that benefits our agriculture.

Christian Democratic Union Split

AU0907130891 Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech 8 Jul 91 pp 1, 7

["(OC)"-signed report: "New Deputies' Clubs"]

[Text] Prague—The chairmen of the three parties that formed the Christian and Democratic Union [KDU] election coalition held a meeting on Wednesday [3 July] evening. The proceedings were a precursor to the split between the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] and the Christian Democratic Party [KDS].

Josef Lux (CSL) told us the following about the meeting: "We offered the others joint entry into the registered KDU movement and we proposed a time limit on drafting general articles."

Vaclav Benda (KDS) had a single misgiving: "If we do not agree, then no one may use the KDU logo in the future. We and the Free Farmers' Party disagreed with this."

KDS Central Secretary Tomas Svoboda: "We proposed to the CSL that it adhere to the agreement reached last Tuesday (25 June) by delegations from our parties. This involved revoking the original registration and replacing it with another or changing the articles in the spirit of Tuesday's meeting. We wanted to make sure that the coalition's name could not be used. The CSL did not agree to this. Therefore, we decided to recommend to the Republican Representative Committee (the KDS' most senior organ) that the KDU coalition come to an end."

The KDS' most senior organ held a meeting on Thursday 4 July and adopted the following point of view: The KDS Republican Representative Committee has recommended KDS deputies in the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council to establish separate deputies' clubs independent of the existing KDU clubs. The KDS Republican Representative Committee has tasked the KDS Executive Committee with undertaking and coordinating the necessary political and legal steps toward ensuring the KDS' right to make a joint decision on the KDU's logo and toward preventing its misuse by the Czechoslovak People's Party or anyone else in the future.

Antall Addresses Foreign Trade Representatives

AU1007085391 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT 8 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, 8 July (MTI)—Foreign missions have to work under uniform principles in the fields of politics, economy, and culture, under the ambassador's direction, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at a two-day conference of foreign trade representatives in Budapest on July 8.

"It is of utmost importance that political and professional views be unified so as not to present the country in a contradictory way," Antall stressed.

He said he had a positive opinion on the co-operation between heads of foreign missions and trade representatives.

Hungarian foreign policy was qualified by Antall as fruitful as it had succeeded in developing a wide system of international relations.

"We are striving to establish correct ties with the Soviet Union," Antall said. "The $1,500-million debt the Soviet Union owes to Hungary does not stem from the fact that they 'don't like us.' Their debt has no political motivation whatsoever. Economic problems concerning the Soviet troops pull-out can only be settled on the basis of correct accounting," he said.

As regards the Yugoslavian issue, Antall expressed his satisfaction over the Brioni conference and the three-month ceasefire. He stressed that the Hungarian Government from the outset had considered a confederation of sovereign republics to be the best solution.

Foreign Minister Jeszensky on SFRY Situation

LD0907194291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Istvan Kulcsar report on news conference by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky with domestic and foreign correspondents in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry press center in Budapest on 9 July; Jeszenszky's comments recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kulcsar] The Hungarian foreign minister opened the news conference by stating:

[Jeszenszky] Regarding the crisis in Yugoslavia, Hungary has throughout represented an extremely consistent position, and this consistent stand did not begin now nor on 27 June, when, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Hungary, the Foreign Ministry issued a statement. Beyond this, on 1 February we also issued a communique, which, I believe, was memorable. It is worthwhile to compare the two. Hungary at that time stood on the same ground as now, that, naturally, it respects the free choice of the peoples, nations, minorities living in Yugoslavia, regarding how they wish to arrange their relationship with one another. I believe that, even in European comparison, the stand of the Hungarian Government can be called very consistent, and we can state this, if you like, with satisfaction.

[Kulcsar] Geza Jeszenszky then spoke about the Hungarian- Austrian-Italian foreign ministers' meeting held in Budapest on 6 July and, generally, about the activity of Hungarian diplomacy regarding Yugoslavia.

[Jeszenszky] On the night of 26 June, I spoke twice at length U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger. During the crisis, there has been constant contact, either by letter or telephone, on the part of the Hungarian prime minister, the Hungarian foreign minister. As known, Jozsef Antall has been in contact with Yugoslav Prime Minister Markovic and by letter with President Bush, President Gorbachev, and I have on several occasions been in contact with Foreign Minister Mock. The EC chairman at the time was Luxembourg, during June; it was on this basis that we sent to Luxembourg our letter addressed to the entire EC. In this, the Hungarian position figured in a more nuanced, more refined manner than what can, of necessity, be contained in a government statement.

This contact has continued since then, with, for example, the Slovenian foreign minister telephoning me on 6 July. During the previous one or two days, a report spread which was completely groundless—at least as regards our intentions—that there would be a meeting of foreign ministers of all the countries bordering Yugoslavia in Hungary on 6 July. I believe that this stemmed from an (?outright) misunderstanding. We did not entertain such an idea. We did not invite anyone to this, beyond the Italian foreign minister having come from the outset and our having agreed with the Austrian foreign minister on this meeting.

I can say, as a point of interest, that this misunderstanding assumed such dimension that on 6 July the Croatian foreign minister arrived in Budapest. We had not prepared for him; we did not even know that he was coming. He announced by telephone that he was here, so there was no way—nor was it our intention—for any of the ministers to meet him. Someone on the Italian and Hungarian side—and I imagine on the Austrian side, too—met him out of courtesy. However, this was no official establishment of contact of any type.

[Kulcsar] Regarding the most recent developments, Geza Jeszenszky stated:

[Jeszenszky] Hungary, like all European countries and all countries of the world paying attention to this area, fully supports the agreement reached at Brioni. I could say that this is an easing, a sigh of relief. We know that this does not yet constitute a reassuring settlement of the crisis, but it has a very important element beyond having concluded a compromise agreement on the concrete issues. Its very important element is the start of political consultations.

I, on my part, have emphasized this in all my formal and informal contacts, and I believe I am not alone in this. It is not enough to extinguish the regrettable fire which burns in our neighbourhood, in the strict sense of the word and also in the souls of people. A political solution must also be found. It is not our task, the task of the Hungarians, to work out this solution. The EC and the European Council have each—separately and jointly—expressed their readiness that, if there is a requirement for such a thing, they will provide assistance. We emphasize here, if there is a requirement for such a thing—because obviously it is not only a legal issue—that assistance cannot be provided without asking those concerned, but the readiness is also necessary.

Anyone can make the most clever proposal. If those concerned do not accept it, it will not be realized. In our opinion, political guarantees must be found which are acceptable to all sides concerned and obligate all of those concerned.

[Kulcsar] Following this, the Hungarian foreign minister expounded on how he sees events unfolding in Yugoslavia:

[Jeszenszky] It is not only that the republics forming Yugoslavia must come to some sort of new agreement, but this agreement has a key element: Minorities of a significant number live in every Yugoslav republic. If somebody looks at an ethnic map—and in Yugoslavia's case it is worth looking at, precisely to understand the situation—it will be clear for everybody that the situation of the national minorities must be settled in a way satisfactory for all. Thus, I would like it, if we would not be misunderstood sometimes from abroad. [sentence as heard] It is not that we keep reiterating our worries and obligations regarding the Hungarian minorities; the point is that this is a general problem. Their autonomy of various levels and rights must be ensured. This does not mean separatism by any means. Incidentally, in our region, the majority of the minorities could not separate from the majority even in principle, for the ethnic relations are rather mixed.

[Kulcsar] At his news conference, Geza Jeszenszky dealt with the Magyar minority of Yugoslavia separately:

[Jeszenszky] The Magyardom in Yugoslavia is in a very grave situation, not only because the danger of civil war exists but also because they are kind of divided against their will. You also know that sometimes the Magyars of Slovenia voice their demand that the Hungarian Government should take a stand on the side of Slovenia. Certain representatives of the Magyardom in Croatia feel that the Hungarian Government does not take any notice of them. At the same time, the Magyars of Vojvodina, as known, emphasize very strongly that they do not wish to take a stand in any way on the internal feud or the settlement of relations of the southern Slavic peoples. It is clear that, if the Hungarian Government, from any kind of aspect, would wish to consider the stand of any of the Magyar groups in Yugoslavia, it would be very difficult to coordinate this with the stand of the other two. Thus, the Magyars living in Vojvodina under Serb authority are in a different situation and want different things than the Magyars of Croatia or Slovenia. Thus, the Hungarian Government is in a predicament from this point of view, also. However, this is only a further argument in favor of why peace is so vitally important for us. It is not only important because we wish all our neighbours well; peace is also important for stability, economic prosperity, and capital investments can only be envisaged if there is calm in the whole region. A tragic situation could also occur if the Yugoslav conflict were to intensify, for example, God forbid, if Magyars were shooting at each other in the ranks of the confronting territorial defense forces and the Yugoslav Army, under command, not knowing that they are shooting at each other. [passage omitted]

[Kulcsar] In the second half of the news conference, journalists asked Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky a number of questions. Radio Hungary's question was the following: What is the consequence of the government's statement, according to which the Trianon and the Paris peace treaty of 1947 did not give Vojvodina to Serbia but to Yugoslavia?

[Jeszenszky] In my view, one should not derive any sort of far-reaching conclusion from this in the context that Hungary would form some sort of claim. This merely means—and this is partly an historic fact—what is really important is that the interests of the Albanians of Kosovo and the interests of Vojvodina must be considered by all means in the Yugoslav settlement. Hungarians are not the only ones living in Vojvodina. What is more, the Hungarians are a minority. A Serbian republic where the political rights—and one could almost say that the autonomy of the Albanians, Hungarians, and other minorities—are not guaranteed, obviously would not be stable; thus, it would not be a Serbian interest. This is what this means and nothing more. (endall)

Alliance of Free Democrats on Economic Program

LD0807203491 Budapest MTI in English 1101 GMT 8 Jul 91

[Text] Budapest, July 8 (MTI)—The Hungarian economy has plunged into a deep crisis, with spiralling inflation, the spectre of insolvency looming and large social groups witnessing a dramatic fall in their standard of living. The government keeps the players on the stage of economic life on tenterhooks, and invariably fosters the heritage of central intervention, the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), Hungary's largest opposition party, said. Dissatisfied with the government programme, the AFD announced in February that it would draw up a crisis-management programme of its own. The main points of the draft programme have now been put to a general debate, while the full programme will be published next autumn.

The Free Democrats give priority to curbing inflation, accelerating privatization and boosting export-oriented

growth. As long as a dominant part of the economy remains in state hands, they argue, inflation cannot be stemmed. The AFD is pressing for the companies' majority stakes to be transferred to private hands within two years. Considering it harmful for privatization to be over-centralised, the Free Democrats would limit the the State Property Agency's authority to the largest hundred companies. To raise the capital required, the AFD recommends granting preferential loans for privatization and introducing property coupons to be used for the purchase of state property. The coupons would be available for organizations and, if inflation remains below 10 per cent for at least two years, for individuals too.

The Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) is calling for further liberalisation of exports and imports. As for the customs tariff, the AFD recommends that the practice of southern European states be followed. Hungary, they predict, may join the European Communities by the late 1990s.

The Free Democrats oppose any state intervention in trade with the Soviet Union, saying that companies should trade on their own account. In the AFD's view, the forint could first become fully convertible, once Hungary's inflation has been pushed down to the West European level.

The AFD says that the influx of foreign capital should be encouraged by improving the general business climate and establishing market institutions and infrastructure, rather than granting tax relief in such forms as sectoral preferences and capital flight.

In the field of social welfare, the short-term target set is of preventing the partitioning of the country into a rich and poor Hungary. The social security system should combine the principles of solidarity and insurance, and guarantee a minimum provision for each and every Hungarian citizen, the AFD's draft programme says.

National Bank Chairman on Interest Rates

AU0907134691 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Jul 91 p 9

[Interview with National Bank Chairman Gyorgy Suranyi by Emilia Papp; place and date not given: "Series of Coordinated Issuing Bank Measures From July"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] For some time now, the interest rate has not grown to the same extent as it did under the issuing bank's discount treasury bill auctions [diszkontkincstarjegy-aukciok]. We have witnessed a drop in the interest rate since March, and this decline seemed to be a lasting tendency. During the first quarter, several banks did not raise their interest rates. Therefore, it came as a surprise a week ago when the Hungarian National Bank [MNB] decided to level its interest rate on forint credits issued to cover hard currency resources, raising this interest rate to 34.7 percent. The leveling led to an increase of 6.6 percentage points in some cases. We asked Gyorgy Suranyi why this step was necessary, and whether it might launch a new wave of increased interest rates:

[Suranyi] One of the reasons we took this step was because we did not want commercial banks to make an unacceptable profit on issuing bank resources. Indeed, in their investments with the MNB, financial institutions did not use the hard currency credits they had received, but rather they used the basic deposits of mixed enterprises that had come in as active capital. By using the issuing bank's refinancing construction, they could issue credits at a 39 percent interest rate, rather then the 28 percent interest rate at which they received it, for example. Under such conditions and with such possibilities, forint refinancing in exchange for currency resources has grown over the last few months, and in June, it exceeded 70 billion forints. Exchanges made in the hope of interest profits automatically lead to the creation of money. At this stage, we had to make several changes in our policy if we wanted the growth in money reserves and inflation to run according to plan until the end of the year. At the same time, we are trying to create normal market conditions in the banking system, and we want interest differences [kamatresek] to settle at a reasonable level.

[Papp] The problem is that, at the same time, the hard currency resources of banks have become more expensive because of the rule that a compulsory 15 percent reserve has to be maintained on forint resources. Is there not a risk that banks will compensate for these two blows by raising their interest rates?

[Suranyi] Interest levels have probably reached a limit where it has become difficult to place money. It is not a coincidence that several banks have decided not to raise their interest rates since the beginning of the year—some banks have even decreased their interest rates. Secondly, this is a series of coordinated measures, and both of the previous measures fit into this series. You can see in the business sector that the difference between the forint and hard currencies is increasingly blurred. I mean this in a positive sense—I see it as a consequence of liberalization. However, if hard currencies play a determining and important role in monetary policy and in the influencing of liquid resources when we want to influence the money-making capacity of the entire banking sector, then we have to take steps—one of our measures has been the introduction of a compulsory reserve. The fact that we now strictly demand that banks maintain a 5 percent liquidity reserve also had something to do with the issuing bank's reserves policy. This 5 percent reserve can be topped with newly-issued government bonds that have a 25 percent interest rate. Thus, banks also take part in the financing of our budget. That is still monetary financing, but at least it is not direct issuing of bank resources that lies in the background. Let us return to the argument that compulsory reserves lead to the regulation of the money-making capacity of banks rather than to a regulation of their profitability: This is proven by the fact that since January, the MNB has paid interest on the

compulsory reserves on forint resources, and the interest on reserves introduced on hard currency resources currently stands at 34.7 percent. In other words, compulsory reserves on hard currency resources have no detrimental effect whatsoever on the revenues of banks.

[Papp] Could a situation arise where, as a consequence of these measures, banks will not be so interested in collecting hard currency resources in order to secure their liquidity?

[Suranyi] We have continued with the reduction of short-term normative issuing bank refinancing [rovid lejaratu normativ jegybanki refinanszirozas], and we will very probably stop them altogether in the fourth quarter. Therefore, with the regulation on forint liquidity, there will be pressure on banks to collect the greatest hard currency resources possible and either to place these with the MNB, or to give them to enterprises in the form of hard currency credits.

[Papp] In the end, is there enough money in the economy, or is there too much?

[Suranyi] During the first half of the year, money reserves grew at an approximate rate of 25 or 26 percent. We could not have fallen below that level, nor should we go much higher. We took the midyear step to prevent a disproportional outflow of money. We also wanted to coordinate the growth rate of our money reserves with the inflationary goals we considered feasible. To us, the figures of the first five months meant that the situation was better than expected, that inflation was 2 or 3 percent lower than predicted in the government program. However, if we wanted figures to lie closer to the issuing bank's goals for the end of the year, we would have to further decrease the growth rate of our money reserves. I must admit that great difficulties are caused by the fact that we have to see quite clearly how GDP has changed in nominal value in order to regulate the pace of decrease. However, nobody can provide a credible answer to that question today.

[Papp] Does this mean that you do not believe in the statistics provided by official sources?

[Suranyi] I do not believe even in their forecasts. If we look back at 1990, the GDP decrease was as big as we were talking about. The Central Statistical Office showed a 5 percent decrease in the real GDP; in addition, another 5 percent reduction took place in domestic consumption because the current balance of payments changed from a deficit to a slight surplus. All this would have demanded a 10 percent reduction in domestic consumption and accumulation in real values, but the system came up with a considerably smaller reduction in consumption and accumulation, mainly through calculating the income of the private sector mainly on the basis of personal tax returns. Everyone knows that these tax returns only show a fraction of the real income. It is also worth examining the changes in the electric energy consumption in Hungary in 1990. While serious drops took place in the measurable sectors like metallurgy, coal mining, and the building material industry, electric energy consumption hardly changed in 1990, although last winter was not particularly cold. In others words, there must have also been growth in the other economic areas.

[Papp] However, in the course of a restrictive financial policy, one must also take into consideration the fact that financial demand is considerably larger in the economy as a result of the stricter financial discipline of small ventures, compared with the large-scale enterprises, and also because there has been an increase in the number of economic ventures. This could also lead to the need to accelerate the circulation of funds.

[Suranyi] Although, theoretically, it makes a difference from the viewpoint of domestic demand, it makes no difference from the viewpoint of domestic demand whether there will be more demand in the economy through an accelerated or slower circulation of a given amount of money. [sentence as published] Our goal is to slow down the circulation of funds, or the other way around, to increase the willingness to keep money, increase the demand for money. This can be achieved by proper institutional changes or by means of a monetary and interest policy.

Concept of Splitting Defense Ministry 'Accepted'

LD1007083891 Warsaw PAP in English 2303 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 9—At Tuesday's [9 July] session the government accepted the concept of splitting the National Defence Ministry into civilian and military sections with a view to increasing the effectiveness of the activity of armed forces and civil defence alongside reducing the Army's manpower and employment in military administration and also its restructuring.

Thus, it is assumed that a civil person will head the Ministry of Defence as a civilian organ of state administration in order to ensure better working links with the Parliament, ruling bodies and economic institutions as well as to depoliticise armed forces and relieve them from the burden of problems related to the budget, administration, supplies, investments and social conditions.

Among tasks of this section will be the work on guidelines of the state defence policy, forecasts concerning international developments with regard to Poland's security, long-term planning of the activity of the arms industry and arms sales and purchases.

The Army will be commanded by the chief of the general staff-general inspector of armed forces. The staff will focus its actions on personnel training, strategic planning and logistics. In their new organisational shape armed forces will number some 200-250 thousand soldiers. In the event of war the manpower will be increased by about 800 thousand soldiers.

The Government voiced an opinion that imports of military products should be linked with exploiting possibilities of co-production, this being aimed to gaining access to new technologies and to technical and financial aid.

Next it set up a team for the work on the reform of the Polish defense doctrine taking account of economic aspects of the strategic goal of Poland's integration with the EC.

The Council of Ministers also amended an ordinance on deferring or releasing from active military service of conscripts and soldiers regarded as the only bread-winners in their families, that is the ones who support more than two persons.

Earlier in the day Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki met with Defence Ministry high ranking officials to ask them for showing understanding of the state's difficult economic situation. He told them that "the Army's financial safety depends on the state's economic success."

In view of growing dissatisfaction and financial demands of the military Bielecki said: "Miraculous operations consisting in increasing the budget are theoretically possible but morally inadmissible since they lead to the financial collapse of the state."

During the next part of the debates the government, following the motion of Interior Minister Henryk Majewski, gave its consent to forming the fraud police with a view to combatting economic offences such as unfair competitiveness, violation of the commercial law, illegal use of state enterprises' assets for the benefit of private companies and the like.

Jacek Kozlowski, head of the government press office, said that the fraud police will be composed of 660 members, and its powers should not overlap with the fiscal control apparatus that is being formed at the moment with a view to focusing on tax and fiscal offences and protecting the interests of property rights of the state treasury.

The final part of the session was devoted to the discussion on special powers for the government that will enable it to issue decrees by virtue of laws. The government adopted the draft in this respect but decided not to send it to the Parliament yet. Accepting the draft law on such powers, the government voiced its readiness to assume greater responsibility for the fate of the state if necessary.

This morning President Lech Walesa and Prime Minster Jan Krzysztof Bielecki had a working breakfast during which they discussed the issue of granting special powers to the government.

Zinc, Lead Miners Strike 'Demanding' Pay Hike

LD1007084491 Warsaw PAP in English 2317 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Warsaw, July 9—Miners at Poland's three zinc and lead pits have gone on strike demanding a 60 per cent pay increase. The strike action in three southern Polish localities of Olkusz, Pomorzany and Boleslaw started on Monday [8 July] after the government refused to raise miners' wages.

Another protest action was initiated on Tuesday at the foundry plant of the FSM auto factory in Skoczow (Bielsko-Biala province, southern Poland) as a result of Ministry of Privatisation reluctant attitude towards worker's payment demands and postulates of factory modernization.

Tuesday was also the first day of furniture plant's strike action in Goleniow near Szczecin (north-western Poland) where protestors demanded changes in management, clear explanation of financial abuses as well as wage's increase.

New demands were also made on Tuesday during the second day of the municipal transportation driver's protest action in Bialystok province (eastern Poland). According to protestors only one state-owned company should operate in the province.

The Interfactory Strike Committee of the Lodz chapter of All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions decided it would

stage a demonstration on July 11 supporting strikers at the Lodz-based radio production plant "Fonica".

Also the protest action against the dam construction on the Dunajec River in the Pieniny Mts has not been suspended as 14 people mounted another road blocade on Tuesday. Till now 109 persons have been fined for participating in the Monday's and Tuesday's blockades.

Debt Reduction Agreement Signed With Austria

LD1007084891 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Vienna, July 9—Poland and Austria signed here on Tuesday [9 July] an executive agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of Poland's debt owed to the Republic of Austria calculated at about 38 billion schillings.

Choosing from three possibilities offered by the April decision of the "Paris Club", Austria decided to reduce interest payments. The repayment of capital of the debt was spread, in tune with the Paris protocol, onto the years 1995-2009.

The agreement includes an entry in which the Austrian side stated that the signing of the document does not exclude the possibility of further reduction of Poland's debt in form of assistance for ecological ventures in Poland.

Center Accord Leader Views Electoral Law

PM0907141491 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 29-30 Jun 91 p 3

[Interview with Minister Jaroslaw Kaczynski, senator, head of the President's Chancellery, and chairman of the Center Accord, by Wieslaw Walendziak; place and date not given]

[Text] [Walendziak] Political adversaries accuse you of exploiting the entire debate around the electoral law as a pretext. They claim that in fact the stakes in this game are power and gaining an upper hand, not this or that particular legislative regulation. Moreover, individuals can already be heard claiming that all sides in the conflict are interested in a scenario which envisages confrontation as an inevitable development of the situation. The more violent the conflict, the better the arguments in the parliamentary election campaign that has just been launched.

[Kaczynski] I very often come across this kind of "over-interpretation," which entirely ignores the essentials of the conflict. The truth is that what is being decided today is whether the next Sejm will be elected according to certain rational principles, and therefore whether it will constitute an efficient political body, or be condemned to weakness and a total lack of cohesion. The latter variant would mean that democracy would be compromised in the eyes of the public. Thus, the dispute over the electoral law is certainly no secondary matter. It is a debate on the shape of Polish democracy.

[Walendziak] But why is there so little willingness to compromise in the debate? This applies to the Center Accord, too.

[Kaczynski] We have agreed to some very serious compromises. After all, we suggest that we could vote either for individual candidates or for particular parties. This is not the best solution, but we are willing to make concessions. On the other hand, the Sejm proposes extreme solutions, the likes of which would not be easily found anywhere else in Europe. Well, perhaps at the level of provinces or Laender, in the sphere of local self-government. But not at a central, state level! We must not permit a situation whereby alliances of political parties are eliminated from the competition by a relevant provision of the electoral law, which would thus condemn them to interparty rivalry. After all, party alliances and parties themselves are at the very basis of the democratic system. If we approve the electoral law in the version proposed by the Sejm, we will preclude the setting up of election alliances and thus offer the field to those who are already in certain privileged configurations. I will not conceal the fact that these people belong mostly to the old system. It is as though someone had tried to place a mine under the foundations of the nascent Polish democracy. Have we already forgotten the lesson we learned in local self-government elections? Today self-government councils have no political options concentrated in well organized and clearly discernible political factions. Instead, they very often have political cliques. Is that what we really want?

[Walendziak] But how do you explain the fact that so many Democratic Union activists—who fought most fervently for Polish democracy in the communist period and who so frequently suffered repressions and prison sentences for it—have now deliberately placed themselves in bitter opposition to Lech Walesa?

[Kaczynski] Well, here we are talking predominantly about the left-oriented section of the former opposition. I have discussed the left-wing nature of the Democratic Union often enough, but I must still confess utter amazement at the idea of an alliance between Mazowiecki and Cimoszewicz. How can anyone defend this "contractual" Sejm, which is already an anachronism in our present circumstances in Poland?

[Walendziak] After all, this Sejm has already decided to dissolve itself, so its days are numbered.

[Kaczynski] True, but it is precisely at this moment that the forces of the old system are making every effort to shape the newly developing political system into a profile that is most advantageous to themselves. We must not condone this. It is a pity that the Democratic Union refuses to understand this point.

[Walendziak] But is it not true that, once the government's authority has been eroded (consider the Mazowiecki government, for instance) or the authority of the

Sejm (albeit only the present, "contractual" Sejm) is undermined, the authority of future governments and parliaments will automatically be undermined, too?

[Kaczynski] This is a very peculiar philosophy. By that token, the political configuration which gained power in 1989 should be exempt from all criticism. It should be allowed to rule as long as its strength allows until, at long last, it announces that the stage of full democracy has arrived. Seen from this perspective, all criticism of the ruling teams, such as those of Bronislaw Geremek and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was tantamount to undermining and destroying the state. It was supposedly in the interest of Polish democracy that they should rule all their lives—which should be as long as possible! Surely you can see that we are approaching an obvious absurdity here. We are questioning our democracy in the name of democracy.

[Walendziak] Seen this way, the argument over the electoral law is only one aspect of a much wider conflict. It is, in effect, a debate on how to arrive at a truly democratic state system.

[Kaczynski] Of course, with just one further point: I would still not attempt to avoid discussing the essence of the argument, that is, the actual model of the electoral law. It is simply a matter of drawing up a single starting line for all the competitors in the race, all the political and social groups, so that the forces of the old system which are responsible for our dramatic economic situation are not allowed to evade all responsibility for bringing it about and to still enjoy privileges at the very start of the race. After all, the whole contest is being staged over the question whether the tremendous socio-political transformation initiated back in 1989 will be ultimately successful, or whether it will get stuck in the old tracks left in the road by the 45 years of communism. We must not allow ourselves to lose this contest.

Hungary's Jeszenszky, Nastase Exchange Letters

AU0907190091 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMt 9 Jul 91

[Text] A press communique of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs includes the following—we quote:

On 26 June 1991 Geza Jeszenszky, the foreign minister of the Hungarian Republic, sent a letter to Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, in which he stresses the fact that he supports the reconciliation and friendship between the two nations, saying that in this respect the Hungarian side is ready to negotiate on the most diverse issues, starting from the important role played by talks at the expert level. In the letter, the Hungarian foreign minister suggests a meeting of the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs, during which—after its finalization—the protocol that was worked out during negotiations that took place at the level of state secretaries in 1990 could be signed. The Hungarian foreign minister reiterates the position of the Hungarian side regarding the establishment of a Hungarian consulate in Cluj-Napoca and the elaboration of a joint document on ethnic minorities. -

In his reply to the letter of the Hungarian foreign minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase, Romania's foreign minister, expresses his sincere belief that—we quote—during the current stage, our countries must take actions that should start a new course in bilateral relations starting from the fact that the democratic transformations in our countries and the overall development of international relations and domestic issues are favorable for such a course. In this respect, the Romanian minister notes that first it is absolutely necessary that the sides concentrate their efforts on convening and concluding a new political-legal document that should be the foundation for the relations between Romania and Hungary in all areas and should confirm the resolute break from the negative heritage of the past.

In his letter, Minister Adrian Nastase recalls the fact that, animated by this wish, on 11 May 1991 the Romanian side transmitted the draft of a bilateral treaty to the Hungarian side and proposed the organization of consultations on this issue at level of experts. The reaction of the Hungarian side to such a project could be interpreted as a confirmation of its wish to concur in the efforts toward building the partnership proposed by the Romanian side.

Noting that the basic element justifying a bilateral meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries could be the finalization of this document which, considering its importance, should preferably be signed at the highest Romanian-Hungarian level, the head of the Romanian diplomacy mentions that the treaty will pave the way for a future accord on a series of concrete actions that are of mutual interest.

An update protocol, which would include all these actions, may also be signed by the ministers of foreign affairs after the conclusion of the bilateral treaty, which would become the basis for the future Romanian-Hungarian relations.

Romania's foreign minister also hopes that his counterpart will agree that diplomacy should naturally create the foundation for cooperation and confidence in the relations between Romania and Hungary, that is, to include in a treaty of understanding, cooperation, and good neighborliness, the fundamental norms of bilateral relations. The observance of these norms should facilitate discussion and actions for finding solutions to the problems on the agenda, in accordance with the interests of both peoples.

Defense Minister Spiroiu Interviewed

AU0907200191 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 4-5 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Defense Minister Lieutenant General Nicolae Constantin Spiroiu by Octavian Andronic, place and date not given: "The Army Remains One of the Most Democratic Bodies"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Andronic] What are, in your view, the most important changes experienced by the military apparatus in the interval since the revolution?

[Spiroiu] First I would mention the depoliticization and separation of the Army from political parties. The second measure was the elimination of those orders and laws which, by pushing the Army to the periphery in an abusive way, deprived military cadres of their rights; I am talking of measures taken for their social protection. Another important measure was the one revising training programs. New programs have been worked out aimed at withdrawing the Army from economic activities. Just think, in December 1989 we had almost 80,000 military personnel working in the national economy! There were more than 15,000 such military personnel in Bucharest alone. We have also reduced military service.

[Andronic] Was this a positive measure? I am asking this because during the latest draft there were signs of existing gaps.

[Spiroiu] That is correct. These gaps have emerged on the one hand because military service has been shortened from 16 to 12 months and on the other hand because drafts are made at the age of 20. Consequently, the number we are drafting is somewhat lower. We have made up for this by making use of an element that represents the beginning of professionalizing the Army, namely by employing military personnel who finished their duty in the past two to three years on the basis of a contract.

[Andronic] As a technician, what do you think of meeting the needs for equipment and of modernizing the Army at this point? Is our industry able to continue to solve this problem? Will we also resort to the stocks which the Russians are abandoning in the former Warsaw Pact member countries? Will we buy modern equipment?

[Spiroiu] As a result of the policy of independence which Romania has promoted even relative to the other countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact, we have developed a

defense industry that permitted us to provide the main categories of our Armed forces with the basic equipment they needed.

Thus, our domestic industry is able to provide all weapons for the infantry, ammunition for the artillery, all kinds of armored vehicles, two types of fighter planes, and vessels. Not so complex equipment such as rockets, transmission equipment, and aviation technology, which we import. On the basis of Law No. 15, these production capacities were reorganized and turned into autonomous capacities and, of course, we want to preserve these capacities restructured according to current needs and possibilities. For in case of a conflict it is, normally, very difficult to secure the military equipment needed from imports. What is wanted in the future? First a technological restructuring of this industry. Particularly, to make sure that we have access to certain collateral imports. Some newspapers did not speak favorably about Romanian military equipment. This is wrong. From the point of view of construction and performance, our equipment has been and continues to be competitive. However, both the defense industry and the Army did not, generally speaking, benefit from any imports for more than 10 years. It is very difficult to manufacture high-performance equipment by producing everything at home! I myself do not know of any military equipment manufacturer who does not have collaborators. Therefore, the first step we must take is to secure collateral imports which will permit us to modernize the equipment that we are able to manufacture in our country. This must go hand in hand with a program of orienting these capacities toward civlian production.

[Andronic] Is trade with military equipment an embarrassing thing for you?

[Spiroiu] It is practiced by the whole world; we ourselves export only very small amounts. We have exported such equipment. Everybody has such exports. Certainly, what is important is not to practice such exports against embargoes and restrictions established at the international level. However, weapons are exported by everybody.

[Andronic] And we will probably continue to do so.

[Spiroiu] Without any question. Trade companies in other countries, particularly in the West, will provide licenses especially for defense equipment, because that is what we are interested in at this point. We have adopted a defense doctrine of defending our sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

[Andronic] In view of all the anxiety that is justifiably troubling the population at this point, do you believe that those who are working in the military industry have less reason to have worries than others?

[Spiroiu] No. They have the same worries as others. Owing to a cut in the budget, we have been able to cover merely 40 to 60 percent of the requirements in these capacities. We have been busy and these autonomous production capacities continue to be preoccupied with a process that is the focus in other countries as well, namely: the conversion process, that is, the possibility to also manufacture products for civilian purposes in the same production facilities.

[Andronic] What are your relations with CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army]? More specifically, with the notion of a body that proposes to democratize a structure that is not primarily based on democratism?

[Spiroiu] As is known, CADA no longer exists. Some of the officers who belonged to CADA were placed into reserve because of activities which were incompatible with their military positions. The others were involved in the Army's systematic renewal process which is under way; they were given various tasks. In my opinion, which is at variance with yours, the Army is one of the most democratic bodies. In what sense? In the Army everything is taking place on the basis of very clear and very precise rules. The commander, the subordinate, the superior, and the inferior member of the Army—all of them must obey the same military rules. This is a very democratic thing, and I have said this before. Therefore, there was nothing to democratize here. Many demands of the military body, which the CADA members supported, were natural demands of the whole Army! And, in actual fact, the whole Army wanted these things. As a matter of fact, most of these demands have already been met. However, from the very beginning they proceeded wrongly. They should not have gone into the street. Such a thing is not permitted in the Army, to a military man. There was no such precedent, and taking their demands into the street harmed—for a moment—the beautiful image the Army has always had in this country, and especially during the revolution.

[Andronic] Mr. Minister, I would propose to briefly return to the events of 13-15 June, which we marked recently. What do you think now about the way the Army acted then?

[Spiroiu] It intervened to protect the targets attacked in the conditions in which, as you know, this happened. This was done without violence, without the use of weapons, and without any dead or wounded. As is known, a short time before that, the military units which were guarding the Victoria Palace, television, and other targets, had been withdrawn; thus the troops of the Ministry of Interior, which at that point were reorganizing themselves, were left completely in charge. The Army intervened effectively the moment it was ordered to do so.

[Andronic] Who, do you think, is to blame for the delayed action which the Army was accused of at that time?

[Spiroiu] First I do not think that there was much of a delay. Thus, the moment the order was issued, the Army acted. The delay may also be explained by the time factor involved in making the decision to intervene and by the fact that at that time there were no laws on the organization and operation of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior to clearly stipulate competences and to outline the mission each of them had.

[Andronic] There is intense unrest around us: Among the Serbs, the Russians, and everywhere. This situation could (and, in fact, it has) become explosive any time. Do you believe that the Romanian Army is prepared to cope with an international crisis?

[Spiroiu] We are certainly concerned about the way reforms proceed in the countries around us. This process has given birth to much political, but especially economic unrest. We cannot rule out that this situation may worsen; but we—Romania and our Army—are doing nothing that may contribute to destabilization. On the contrary, we want things to stabilize and we do not encourage actions that may give birth to conflicts. We have positive relations with the Federal Government and Army [of Yugoslavia]. There were rumors—which were denied at the appropriate time—that we had sold weapons or that we had people fight there. Nothing of the kind. However, the Army's duty is to be prepared at any time to fulfill its legal mission of defending our country's interests from a purely defensive point of view, meaning that it must defend our territorial integrity, sovereignty, and independence. I can tell you that we are ready to cope with such a situation.

[Andronic] One last question, Mr. Minister, in connection with the social implications of the Berevoiesti episode. As is known, the documents and archives of the Securitate were taken over by the Army immediately after the revolution. What happened to them afterward? Does the Army still possess such documents? How does it protect them?

[Spiroiu] Yes, part of them. They are in the Army's possession. An inventory has been made; they have been classified and now are preserved according to archival rules. They may be studied under legal provisions and by no means can they be the subject of a situation like that in Berevoiesti. A lot of work has been done; there are thousands of files. The work has been done professionally and with great seriousness, and they are preserved properly. They are in order and the problem of their "manipulation"... cannot be posed.

Vatra Romaneasca Reportedly Infiltrating Army

AU0907182591 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6-7 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Constantin Vranceanu: "Vatra Romaneasca's Tentacles Grasp at the Army"]

[Text] A recent trip to Cluj and Tirgu Mures enabled us to learn of some alarming phenomena and occurrences in the Army. Our conversations with several officers—if you read the article you will understand why we are not publishing their names—showed that an intensive campaign of Stalinist political indoctrination has been going on in the ranks of the 4th Army Transylvania for months. This Army is led by General Paul Cheler, the "hero" of Alba Iulia, who gave the famous order to shoot on 1 December 1989. It is a well-known fact that the Army is not engaged in politics. However, making use of the "excuse" that Vatra Romaneasca is not a political party, its representatives are now carrying out a recruitment campaign among military personnel with the help of some cadres, former political council secretaries currently holding top positions. It is true that no official lectures have been organized in the framework of political education as yet but, with great ability and persuasion, Vatra Romaneasca representatives try to convince officers, non-commissioned officers, military experts, and soldiers to join the organization, through the well-known one-to-one discussions, aimed primarily at exacerbating their national feelings. It is worth mentioning that Vatra Romaneasca branches have been set up not only in the Army units but also in the Interior Ministry units. Those who resist pressure are clearly labelled : Either they have sold out to Hungarians, or they are Peasant Party followers, or monarchists, and so on. According to the well-known principle: Those who are not with us, are against us!

A feeling of suspicion and fear of expressing opinions has spread, especially among officers, because it seems that Vatra Romaneasca recruited some agitators whose mission is to test the political convictions of our military personnel.

It is also worth noting another fact that proves all the above. Volunteers come to military units with piles of publications, but only ROMANIA MARE, EUROPA, and PHOENIX of Oradea, and other similar publications. In this case too, judgment is similarly simple and dangerous: Those who do not buy these publications are against us!

We would not dwell so much on the activity of this extremist organization among the Army if we did not know that the Party of National Unity of Romanians [PUNR] was behind this activity, and this is a political party. (Perhaps it is true that this party is funded by Vatra Romaneasca through the commercial society "Columna" that owns commercial stores, shops, restaurants, and commission shops in Tirgu Mures.)

It is also known, albeit not by many people, that there is an order from the Ministry of National Defense that stipulates the requirement that special events in the Army should be reported. One of the articles of this order refers to the adherence of military personnel to various political parties and to propaganda in favor of political parties. Reports should be submitted within 30 minutes, and adequate measures should then be taken. We repeat: Vatra Romaneasca is not a party, but the mere presence of Iosif Constantin Dragan as honorary president of this organization already suggests the extremist nature of its political orientation. That is why we think that the influence of this organization on our Army in Transylvania should be stopped by those who have the authority without delay.

P.S. We were told in Tirgu Mures that General Cojocaru, former commander of the big 6th Division of Tanks "Horia, Closca, and Crisan" had been promoted to chief of staff of National Guards, a position held by Colonel Pircalabescu prior to the revolution. Is this promotion a reward for the obedience with which he carried out

orders, deploying a strong passive presence of troops on the streets and letting Romanians and Hungarians fight each other in March 1990?

News Conference Discusses Draft Constitution

AU1007060691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1922 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/7/1991—A news conference was held Tuesday, 9 July, at Bucharest's Faculty of Law, to debate Romania's draft constitution. Attending were the Commission for Drawing Up the Constitution, Romanian and foreign journalists.

The draft constitution contains 151 articles and was drawn up on the basis of the political options expressed in the Constituent Assembly, within the limits of the mandate approved by it.

The articles, sections, chapters and the seven titles were arranged systematically, to ensure a unitary terminology and the elimination of parallelism and repetitions, a simple and clear way of expressing the ideas, said University Reader Antonie Iorgovan, senator, chairman of the commission.

He added that the draft constitution had been debated and sanctioned in the 17-27 June sessions of the commission in charge of its drawing up, made up of ten senators, eleven deputies and five experts, that had been elected by the Constituent Assembly one year before.

Several members of the commission specified that the present draft is centered on the problems of the individual and his fundamental rights; it is structured according to valid, democratic principles, which makes the constitution perennial. A particular attention is paid to the human rights, this chapter including the greatest number of articles, to the rights of the minorities, to the principle of the separation of powers, to a number of particularly important public institutions.

Unlike in the principles of the preliminary draft constitution, a special chapter was devoted in the draft to the relationship between the Parliament and the government; a new title was introduced, "Economy and Public Finance", and the initial sections were rearranged.

Efforts have been made, it was said, for the balancing of the matters approached, for drawing up a flexible constitution, allowing for subsequent legislative interventions.

The commission for drawing up Romania's constitution also studied Romania's Constitution of 1923, considered one of the most democratic of Europe at the time, and the constitutions of all European countries and of other states, from which the most modern elements were taken over, possible to adjust to the realities of today's Romania.

'First Part' of Draft Constitution Published

AU1007062091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 9 Jul 91

["First part" of the 151 articles of Romania's draft constitution, published on 9 July 1991]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/7/1991—The commission that worded Romania's draft constitution submitted the draft to the Constituent Assembly for distribution to each parliamentarian so that possible amendments may be formulated and sent to the commission in the period to come.

The draft was worked out on the basis of the political options expressed by the Constituent Assembly.

The draft constitution includes 151 articles, which are grouped under seven titles.

Starting today we give the full text of Romania's draft constitution by sections.

Title I

General Principles

Article 1—The Romanian State

(1) Romania is a national state, sovereign, unitary and indivisible.

(2) The form of government of the Romanian state is the republic.

(3) The Romanian state is a social and democratic state of law in which human dignity, the rights and liberties of citizens, the free development of personality, justice and political pluralism are supreme values.

Article 2—Sovereignty

(1) National sovereignty belongs to the Romanian people that exercises it through its representative bodies and through referendums.

(2) No group or individual may assume the exercise of sovereignty on his own behalf.

Article 3—The Territory

(1) The territory of Romania is inalienable.

(2) The frontiers of the country are sanctioned by the organic law.

(3) Administratively, the territory is organized in communes, towns and counties. According to the law, some towns are declared municipalities.

(4) Foreign peoples may not be displaced in the territory of the Romanian state.

Article 4—The Unity of the People and the Equality of Citizens

(1) The state is based on the unity of the Romanian people.

(2) The state is the common and indivisible homeland of its citizens, without any discrimination as to race, ethnic origin, language, religion, sex, opinion, political allegiance, wealth or social background.

Article 5—Citizenship

(1) The Romanian citizenship may be acquired, preserved and lost according to the provisions of the organic law.

(2) No Romanian citizen may be deprived of this quality if he acquired it at birth.

Article 6—The Right to Identity

(1) The state recognizes and guarantees the right to the conservation, development and expression of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of the national minorities.

(2) The protection measures taken by the state to conserve, develop and express the identity of the national minorities shall accord with the principles of equality and non-discrimination which are applicable to the other Romanian citizens.

Article 7—Romanians Abroad

The State supports the strengthening of links with the Romanians outside the country's borders and works for the conservation, development and expression of their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity.

Article 8—Political Pluralism and Political Parties

(1) Political pluralism is a condition and a guarantee of democracy in the Romanian society.

(2) The creation of political parties and their activity shall comply with legal provisions. They contribute to the definition and expression of the citizens' political will, respecting national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the order of law and the principles of democracy.

Article 9—Trade Unions

The creation of trade unions and their activity shall comply with the provisions of the law and of their own statutes. They contribute to the safeguarding of the rights and the promotion of the professional interests of employees.

Article 10—International Relations

Romania has established and develops peaceful relations with all the states and, in this framework, links of good neighborliness set on the principles and on the other generally accepted norms of international law.

Article 11—International Law and Internal Law

(1) The Romanian state pledges to fulfil its commitments under the treaties to which it is a party to the letter and in good faith.

(2) The ratified treaties or the treaties concluded according to the law are parts of the internal law.

Article 12—National Emblems

(1) Romania's flag is tricolor; it consists of three vertical stripes: blue, yellow and red, in this order from the mast.

(2) The national day of Romania is December 1.

(3) The national anthem, the country's arms and the seal of the state are established under organic laws.

Article 13—Official Language

Romanian is the official language in Romania.

Article 14—The Capital

The capital of the country is Bucharest city.

Title II

Fundamental Rights, Liberties and Duties

Chapter I

Common Dispositions

Article 15—Universality of Rights

The citizens enjoy the rights and liberties granted to them under the constitution and other laws and have the duties laid down in them.

Article 16—Equality of Rights

(1) The citizens are equal before the law and before public authorities without privilege and without discrimination.

(2) Public, civil or military offices and posts shall be taken only by persons holding Romanian citizenship and residing in this country.

Article 17—Romanian Citizens Abroad

Romanian citizens abroad shall enjoy the protection of the Romanian state and shall fulfil their duties with the exception of those incompatible with their absence from the country.

Article 18—Aliens and Stateless Persons

(1) Aliens and stateless persons residing in Romania shall enjoy the general protection of persons and wealth, guaranteed by the constitution and other laws.

(2) The right to asylum may be granted and withdrawn according to the law and observing the international treaties and conventions Romania is a party to.

Article 19—Extradition and Expulsion

(1) A Romanian citizen may not be extradited or expelled from Romania.

(2) Aliens and stateless persons may be extradited only on the basis of an international convention or on a mutual basis.

(3) Expulsion and extradition shall be decided upon by a court of law.

Article 20—International Human Rights Treaties

(1) Constitutional dispositions concerning the rights and liberties of citizens shall be interpreted and applied according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the international pacts and treaties Romania is a party to.

(2) Should there be a lack of concordance between pacts and treaties on fundamental human rights Romania is a party to and the internal laws, the international regulations shall be applied with priority.

Article 21—Free access to Justice

(1) Any person may appeal to justice for the safeguarding of his legitimate rights, liberties and interests.

(2) No law may hamper the exercise of this right.

Chapter II

Fundamental Rights and Liberties

Article 22—The Right to Life, to Physical and Psychic Integrity

(1) A person's right to live and his right to physical and psychic integrity are guaranteed.

(2) No one shall be subjected to torture and to inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment.

(3) Capital punishment is forbidden.

Article 23—Individual Freedom

(1) Individual freedom and personal security are inviolable.

(2) The detention or imprisonment of a person is allowed only in cases established by the law and according to the legal procedure established therefore.

(3) Preventive detention may not last longer than 24 hours.

(4) A person may be arrested only under a legal warrant issued by a judge and kept in provisional imprisonment only for a maximum period of 30 days. The person arrested may file a complaint about the legality of the warrant to the judge who is compelled to make a pronouncement by a motivated ordinance. The extension of the imprisonment period shall be approved only by a court of law.

(5) The person detained or arrested shall be promptly notified, in the language he is conversant with, of the grounds for his detention or arrest and, in the shortest time, of the charges against him; the charges will be made known only in the presence of a chosen or appointed counsel.

(6) The person detained or arrested shall be released if the grounds for his detention or arrest have ceased to exist.

(7) A person under preventive detention may apply for his provisional release under judiciary control or on bail.

(8) Until the pronouncement of the sentence the person shall be held innocent.

(9) All punishments shall be set or applied in the conditions and according to the letter of the law.

Article 24—The Right to a Defense Counsel

(1) The right to a defense counsel is guaranteed.

(2) Throughout the trial the parties have the right to be assisted by a chosen or appointed counsel.

Article 25—Free Movement

(1) The right to free movement in this country and abroad is guaranteed. The law sets the conditions for the exercise of this right.

(2) Every citizen is guaranteed the right to choose his domicile or place of residence anywhere in this country, to emigrate and to return to his country.

Article 26—Private and Family Life

(1) Public authorities shall observe and protect private and family life.

(2) Any natural person has the right to dispose of himself provided that he should not violate the rights and liberties of other persons, public order and morals.

Article 27—Inviolability of Domicile

(1) The domicile and the place of residence are inviolable. No one may enter or stay at the domicile or place of residence of a person without the latter's consent.

(2) Derogations from the provisions of paragraph (1) may be accepted, according to the law, in the following situations: (a) to serve a court sentence; b) to remove any threat to the life, physical integrity or assets of a person; c) to defend national security or public order; d) to prevent the spread of an epidemic; e) in any other cases which require defense against a common danger.

(3) Searches may be ordered solely by a judge and may be conducted according to legal terms alone.

(4) Searches shall be prohibited at night time, except in cases of flagrante delicto.

Federal

Markovic Prepared To Work in Serbian Assembly

LD0907200491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government Information Office said today that Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic was "prepared to accept an invitation to participate in the work of the Serbian parliament" and to set out what the Federal government was undertaking towards a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

The role of the Federal government in the current political situation in the country was one of the topics of yesterday's session of the Serbian perliament.

The Serbian parliament today adopted a law on labour relations aimed at regulating employment according to market laws.

The new law equates the status of all those employed, regardless of whether they were employed in the state-owned, private or mixed-ownership firms.

The Serbian parliament also adopted a law on maternity leave aimed at stimulating the birth of a third child through extended maternity leave.

In answer to a delegate's question on Serbia's foreign debt, it was said that Yugoslavia's foreign debt at the end of March stood at 15.9 billion dollars, and Serbia's was 5.10 billion dollars.

Markovic Discusses Vacancies in FEC, Ministries

LD0907183891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic gave a short interview to Yutel today in which he answered a question on whether he intended to fill the vacancies in those departments whose heads left the FEC, i.e. the FEC vice president and two ministers. Markovic said that all vacancies in the Federal government must be filled, in accordance with tasks and policy it will be implementing in the forthcoming three months, during the moratorium. Our idea Markovic said, is that these FEC members who left their functions in these circumstances and under these conditions, because of political reasons, should be allowed to return to work. In these three months, there should be at least minimal functioning of the system, and that includes the institutions of the system. On the other hand, we still have two vacancies.

We intend to tell a meeting of all important factors in Yugoslavia how we view the functioning of the country in this period. We are working on that now, Markovic stressed, and will be discussing it at the 10 July FEC session. We are preparing ourselves for the discussion—which will probably be held on 12 July—with all leading politicians in the country, where we will propose how to insure the minimal functioning of the country's system to make it possible to live here in the coming three months. To make this system capable of functioning, we must give it some institutions. We hold that the FEC institution must be even more prominent and have more rights and responsibilities than before, Markovic said.

As for the two ministers and the FEC vice president who left, Markovic said that their return to these functions will depend on forthcoming agreements.

Press Roundup on Brioni Declaration

LD0907203491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1225 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA says today that "after the meeting in Brioni (on Sunday) between the three-member European delegation and Yugoslav federal and republican officials, the main enigma—whether or not peace in Yugoslavia is possible—has remained."

BORBA calls attention to the "insufficiently binding nature of the Brioni document" and says that "peace can hardly be brought about by those who staged a war, or if the leadership of Slovenia does not realize that it cannot play with the patience of Europe."

The Belgrade paper VECERNJE NOVOSTI asks, "What is the extent one can talk of the sovereignty of Yugoslavia" when its future will be the concern of many commissions consisting of various experts, civilian and military, from the world at large.

POLITIKA EKSPRES, also of Belgrade, criticizes President of the Federal Presidency Stipe Mesic for insisting on Yugoslav People's Army units' return to the barracks, which was accepted by the E.C. delegation in Brioni.

The paper maintains that Mesic's aim is to prevent the Yugoslav People's Army "from calming the situation in Croatia" so that the Croatian leadership "can put into effect its well-prepared and well- calculated plan of squaring accounts with the Serbian people" in that republic.

"If nothing is done, the Slovenian theatre will soon move to Croatia with much more tragic consequences," it adds.

The Zagreb daily VJESNIK says "Europe must know that Belgrade's (Serbian leadership's) green light to the Army's withdrawal in Slovenia may at the same time 'inspire' Belgrade to force a war in Croatia."

The paper, published in the capital of Croatia, notes that the president of Serbia was not in Brioni and did not sign the declaration, "thus giving to himself a free hand for its arbitrary interpretation—and stepped-up creation of chaos as the overture to an open war."

"The declaration signed in Brioni"—says another Zagreb paper, VECERNJI LIST—"has created fresh hope of a peaceful settlement, above all, of Slovenia's conflict with the Yugoslav People's Army, and a hope that the argument of force will be discarded in all crisis and danger spots on the soil of Yugoslavia."

Warning of "a not-at-all small number of power-holders in Yugoslavia who support force to avoid being toppled by reason," the paper says that the "painstaking talks in Brioni have proved that Yugoslavs, with the determination and assistance of a Europe favourably inclined to democracy, have nevertheless reached a peaceful settlement of the crisis."

The Ljubljana daily DELO says that in Brioni Slovenia "has reached a compromise" and "has won a Europe-confirmed and supervised peace over the Army, as well as a three-month period for negotiation and subsequent independence."

"The same night Yugoslavia lost Slovenia, but it will try, despite a multitude of foreign supervisers, to exhaust it to the utmost over the next ninety days," says the paper published in the Slovenian capital.

It warns that the "actual relationship of forces does not (yet) allow Slovenia the kind of intransigence in negotiations it would like."

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE writes that the "mission of European ministers in Brioni was practically mediation between two sides—actually two states in (?conflict)—not one of constructive assistance in a joint quest for a solution."

The paper, published in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, believes that "Slovenia was practically treated as an independent state, although nobody in Europe—at least officially—has recognized it that status yet."

The Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA says that "forecasts about the Brioni declaration as a possible beginning of peace in Yugoslavia should be avoided," because the "syndrom of different interpretations," in which Yugoslav politicians are very skillful, is very much present.

The Hungarian-language Novi Sad daily MAGYAR SZO says that the Brioni meeting "could signify the start of a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, or the outbreak of civil war." It adds that an endless series of minor or major incidents cannot be ruled out either.

"The document adopted in Brioni"—says the paper published in the capital of Serbia's Province of Vojvodina—"did not answer the most important questions. Also, it is not unambiguous, so that anyone can interpret it as one pleases."

Most Interrepublican Payments Halted by Crisis

LD0907131691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1055 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's republics have on account of the latest political disagreements in the country halted most inter-republican payments, considerably slowing down the flow of money in the country.

Director of the Social Accountancy Service (SDK) of Serbia Dragan Jovanovic told the Belgrade daily BORBA that since July 2 payments from Croatia had stopped completely and from Slovenia partly. This forced Serbia to halt its own payments to those republics, except in cases where firms have insisted that payments be continued in view of business relations.

Slovenia's SDK has reported that in contrast to the average daily flow from Serbia in May this year of 320 million dinars (24.6 million German marks), the figure for July 1 was 68 million dinars (6.2 million DM) and only 22 million dinars (1.6 million DM) on July 2.

The federal SDK says that the service is still insisting on an integrated system of payments and that no republic has so far officially notified it that it is halting payments.

The Association of Banks of Yugoslavia has also said that inter- republican payments have all but stopped and that certain banks in Croatia and Slovenia are refusing payments, saying that they had suspended federal laws and that they feared they would not be able to realize their claims.

Conflicting information is coming from Yugoslav firms in regard to their business cooperation with partners in other parts of the country. The engine producer 21. Maj and tractor manufacturer IMT of Belgrade say they have received no notification that their partners want to break off cooperation with them, whereas the footwear producers Simpo of Vranje and Obuca of Belgrade say their relations with firms in Slovenia and Croatia have been seriously disrupted.

The Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia said the traffic difficulties caused by the conflicts in Yugoslavia had affected its entire industry, particularly the iron and stell sector, which has been experiencing serious difficulties for years.

The inter-republican flow of electricity is running according to plan and the power production and distribution system is normal, it has been announced.

Presidency Members Complain About Cease-Fire

LD0907221191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency members Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic held talks today with the president and members of the Slovenian Presidency and other top officials of the

Republic of Slovenia on the decisions of the latest session of the Federal Presidency. They particularly focused on the situation around the barracks and other Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] buildings in Slovenia and on prisoners and their medical care and release. As Igor Bavcar stressed: "It is obvious that Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic only have the information from the YPA side. On the basis of this, they issued complaints to the Slovenian leadership that it is violating the cease-fire and does not observe the decisions of the Presidency and the Brioni declaration".

"I personally think," said Igor Bavcar," that the present situation is similar to the one in the beginning of the aggression on Slovenia and immediately after the first cease-fire. We are witnesses." He added that the Yugoslav diplomacy is trying in every way, by exceptionally aggressive activity, to blame Slovenia for the violation of the cease-fire and that the continuaiton of the aggression—that is, armed conflicts—are in its interest. It is difficult to match this misinformation, claims Bavcar.

Customs Officials Say Weapons Sent to Slovenia

LD0907165291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—According to the Brioni declaration, the situation on the border in Slovenia returns to the period before 25 June, with Slovene customs officers and militia on the border. The document confirms that the agreement with the Slovene Government of 20 June will be implemented. Customs duties, as federal revenue, should be gathered by Slovene customs officers and then paid into the federal budget.

Dr. Radosav Sekulic, director of the Federal Customs Administration, stated this today at a news conference for foreign and domestic journalists, adding that the declaration is already being variously interpreted, and that the Federal Customs Administration thinks it will have problems.

The fact that it is envisaged that the Federal and Slovene finance ministers, and two controllers from each of the other republics, are to implement the declaration is some guarantee that it will be observed, where customs duties are concerned. In practice, however, everything depends on the Slovene customs officers, Sekulic believes.

After the breakup of the single Yugoslav market, it was clear that weapons were being brought in along the borderline and across the Green Line, with either the voluntary or the enforced cooperation of Slovene militia and customs officers, said Nedeljko Milakovic, deputy director of the Federal Customs Administration.

Asked by a journalist whether it is known exactly who made it possible for weapons to come across the Green Line, Milakovic replied that evidence is being collected on this, but that everything is clear when one looks at who is on the border. In addition, as he said, the coastline is open, and there is the possibility of moving weapons by sea; and there are also airports there.

Milakovic related the testimony of customs officer Cedomir Petricic, who was sent to Slovenia on assignment and who on 28 June, during the brief time that customs control was assumed at the Fernetici crossing, stopped two vehicles, the drivers of which were quite openly transporting firearms. It has also been discovered that a communications system worth 9 million pounds sterling is being imported from Great Britain for the needs of the Slovene Territorial Defense.

Milakovic explained that according to Federal Customs information, on 18 June a car with a Dutch registration waited two days in Celovec seeking the opportunity of entering Slovenia. The customs officers' attention was drawn to this, but the vehicle nevertheless entered Slovenia, and escorted by the Slovene Ministry of Internal Affairs it was first taken to the Iskra depot at Kranj, and ended up in the Slovene Territorial Defense. It is known that on 4 June three freight cars (the dispatcher was, as far as is known, the British firm Racal) were to enter from the direction of Austria, through Jesenice, carrying rifles and even surface-to-surface missiles. [passage omitted]

In such a situation, in spite of the Brioni declaration, Milakovic said, there is a danger that illegal imports will become legal, especially where weapons are concerned. He appealed to the foreign journalists present to inform the world public of this, with the recommendation that weapons should not be sent to Yugoslavia. Recalling Slovenia's decision to establish its own import regime in the future, Milakovic concluded that the Slovene leadership is quite consciously breaking up the Yugoslav market, which it would certainly not do unless it was counting on being promised some new market and some new community, he said.

The foreign and domestic journalists were then addressed by eight of the 15 customs officers of the Federal Customs Administration who were sent to Slovenia on 26 June to supervise the application of Federal regulations: They testified how they were captured, imprisoned, tortured, and—in the most favorable variant—treated as prisoners of war in, as they said, the most democratic of countries. [passage omitted]

Situation on Border Crossing Roads Updated

LD1007125791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—All border crossings in Yugoslavia, except the Holmec checkpoint on the Yugoslav-Austrian border, are open. The vehicles are delayed between half an hour and an hour at the crossings.

The Automobile and Motorcycle Federation of Yugoslavia does not advise passengers to travel to the crisis

areas in Croatia: Osijek, Vinkovci, Vukovar, Dvor na Uni, Kostajnica, Glina, Petrinja, Knin and Benkovac.

Barricades have not yet been removed from some sections of roads in Slovenia and round-about routes have to be taken there. On the Ljubljana-Zagreb road, passenger cars are taking the Kostanjevica ring-road and cargo vehicles the Trebnje, Sevnice and Krsko roads. The Logatec-Vrhnika highway is open again.

Early on Wednesday morning, railway traffic was interrupted on the section from Kozibrod in the Dvor-na-Uni municipality to Dobrnja on the Bosnia-Herzegovina side, due to shooting on the Croatian side.

Traffic was resumed on the railway line running along the river Una around 5 a.m. today.

YPA Criticizes Territorial Defense Guidelines

LD1007025991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—The guidelines received today by all staff of the Slovene Territorial Defense from their commander Janez Slapar demonstrate the complete mental aberration of a policy which in fact does not know what it wants, stresses the information service of the Ljubljana Corps in its statement concerning these guidelines.

It is with bitterness and astonishment that we are informing the public on how the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Slovenia and its Territorial Defense staff understands the Brioni declaration on deblocking Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units, their return to original positions, and the protection of the minority population in Slovenia, says the statement by the Ljubljana Corps of the YPA.

In order to best illustrate these claims the Ljubljana Corps of the YPA reveals the content of the document itself:

"In connection with establishing uniform stands concerning the arrivals and departures of Army personnel and Army vehicles, as well as YPA aircraft and helicopters to and from the Army facilities, we have drawn up the following guidelines: The way in which Army facilities are controlled, and the activities inside and outside them, must be organized in such a way as not to allow YPA units to increase or step up combat readiness. In other words, it must be coordinated with controlling such measures aimed at stepping up combat readiness of YPA units and members. For this reason every regional staff of the Slovene Territorial Defense must control all YPA barracks on its territory in such a way as to check at every exit and entrance all vehicles, equipment, and persons at the registration office of the Territorial Defense. The location and tasks of the Territorial Defense registration office must be reported to the barracks' command. YPA helicopters can only land in the area indicated by the Territorial Defense where it is possible to examine loaded or packaged [zatvorenog] material and persons, and all vehicles from which YPA are loaded or unloaded."

The guidelines for the staff of the Slovene Territorial Defense read further: "All persons—officers of the Yugoslav Army—upon leaving the barracks are to be issued with a written permit at the registration office of the following content: surname and name of the officer, rank, movements, maximum time allowed out, and signature of the officer of the Territorial Defense who issued the permit.

A coordination group should agree on implementation of the raised degree of supervision on the part of organs for internal affairs of all YPA persons and vehicles in cities and settlements. The above guidelines comes into effect on 8 July at 0400. Issued on 7 July at 2100."

The command and members of the Ljubljana Corps, says the statement for the public in conclusion, can hardly believe in the seriousness of such a document which "practically destroys all prerequisites for a peaceful solution to the crisis," stresses the information service of the Ljubljana Corps of the YPA.

Army Colonel Denies Slovene Soldiers Mistreated

LD0907172691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—"Claims that Slovene soldiers in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] are 'prisoners of war' and that they have been misreated in various ways, are loathsome lies," Colonel Miodrag Starcevic told TANJUG journalists. He assessed that these statements are aimed at destroying all the bridges between the YPA and the Slovene people.

The Slovenes who are in the military service in the YPA units are completely equal to all the other soldiers. The YPA is inviting all the foreign and domestic journalists to talk to these soldiers alone, so that they can tell them themselves everything about their position, stressed Col. Miodrag Starcevic.

Tupurkovski, Bogicevic Visit Ljubljana Barracks

AU0907213091 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Nino Brajovic report]

[Excerpts] In the next few minutes, we will talk about Slovenia and about everything or almost everything that happened there today.

[Brajovic] [passage omitted] Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic, members of the SFRY Presidency and the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, flew into the largest Ljubljana barracks today. Here are there discussions with the officers of the Boris Kidric barracks. [passage omitted]

[Begin Tupurkovski recording] I think that society has not behaved correctly toward the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. I think that political forces have sought positional advantage by attacking the YPA. Actually by condemning the militarization of society and the involvement of the YPA or the leadership in political processes, the military option and so on, they have in fact suspended the democratic processes. Only now are we bearing witness to general militarization in the country.

This is the same actual situation that is yet to push us into possible cataclysms and real catastrophes.

This possibility of impending catastrophe is increasingly difficult to prevent. The police duties that even the Presidency was forced to give to the YPA, whether it wanted to or not—or it made a mistake in this respect—negatively (?reflect) on both the YPA and all these situations that are slowly acquiring greater momentum and greater dimensions and could really close these democratic options and end their importance for the resolution of the crisis. [end recording]

Responding to the question of whether the YPA is an occupying army, Bogic Bogicevic said:

[Begin Bogicevic recording] We did not expect this in the least, at least those of us who care about the integration and unity of Yugoslavia and do not have a homeland in reserve. That is all. Thank you. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin Tupurkovski recording] Everything that we are doing is actually a reflection of republican policies, and we do not have any other room for maneuver outside the policies of the republics we represent and on whose basis we act in the Presidency.

This is very sad. I do not want to say any more about this and give the impression that something else is happening in the Presidency. Who has a greater Yugoslav orientation and who respects more the integrity of the country and the Constitution and what it foresees in relation to integrity and international status and territorial unity is something else. However, through the specific behavior of the republics, the politicians in the republics and the political structures in the republics, even though they have now been legitimized by multiparty elections—no one can deny their legitimacy because citizens elected them—are at odds with these orientations and the Constitution and perhaps the vast number of citizens in Yugoslavia. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Letter Demands Release of Soldiers in Slovenia

LD0907195491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic sent a letter to Slovenia's Prime Minister Lojze Peterle on Tuesday informing him that the Yugoslav Government had information that some 30 members of the Yugoslav People's Army were still in prison in the Slovenian town of Murska Sobota.

The Yugoslav Government most energetically demands the immediate release of the prisoners, the letter said.

On the contrary, Mitrovic said, it will be considered that the accord achieved with the adoption of the Brioni declaration is not being respected.

First Army Statement Recounts 8 Jul Clashes

LD0907130591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—The information service of the First Army District has been authorized to issue the following statement: "Around 2110 on Monday near the 25 May Bridge, which links Backa Palanka with Ilok, members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs attacked a sentry from a unit guarding the bridge. The sentry was captured and when it was established that he was a Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] soldier of Croatian nationality, they tried to persuade him by force to join them. In the meantime, a YPA patrol came along and distracted the Croatian constables and the captured soldier ran to his friends. The members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs opened fire with automatic guns at the soldier, to which the YPA patrol energetically returned fire. At the same time, members of the National Guard opened fire at YPA armored vehicles that were guarding the bridge and launched three Zolja-type missiles. None of the missiles hit their target. YPA soldiers responded with fierce shooting. A vehicle belonging to the members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs was demolished. The YPA suffered no casualties.

This morning a large number of snipers were deployed around the Ilok side of the bridge. These snipers kept provoking the YPA soldiers by opening fire. The YPA soldiers responded with fierce shooting and thus forced the snipers into fleeing to the nearby woods. A statement carried by some Croatian information media saying that the incidents were caused by reservists of the YPA who were deployed there is untrue," the information service of the First Army District has reported.

Government Denies Krsko Nuclear Plant Danger

LD0907155991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1229 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Secretariat for Energy and Industry today emphatically stated that the country's only nuclear power plant Krsko had never been in any danger during the past fortnight. Krsko is situated on the border between the Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia. The Yugoslav Army clashed with republican territorial defence forces in Slovenia in late June and early this month. The ministry

denied "concern-provoking announcements" issued by Slovenia's nuclear safety administration.

The federal government's Information Secretariat said Krsko's nominal output had been reduced by 25 per cent on June 28 and that it had been shut down completely on July 2. The plant has been inoperative since then.

The federal defence secretariat categorically denied a claim broadcast in a circular letter sent out by the Slovenian authorities that Yugoslav Air Force (JRV) jets had buzzed the plant repeatedly on June 30. The JRV has never and will never have any reason to fly near the plant, the Defence Minsitry said.

Sweden Receives Slovene, Croat Representatives

LD0907162991 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Jul 91 p A5

[Dag Eklund report: "Arms Exports To Be Halted"]

[Excerpt] Sweden has decided to immediately halt all arms exports to Yugoslavia. Sweden will also investigate the possibility of establishing a consulate in Ljubljana in Slovenia and upgrading the post of honorary consul in Zagreb in Croatia to that of consul general.

Representatives of the National Association of Slovenes and the National Association of Croats met yesterday with Foreign Ministry Under Secretary of State Pierre Schori. They had been invited to the ministry to discuss the conflict in Yugoslavia and to be given an opportunity to voice their demands.

The delegation made the following demands:

Recognize Slovenia and Croatia as independent states.

Freeze arms exports to Yugoslavia.

Set up a consulate in Ljubljana and upgrade the post of honorary consul in Zagreb to that of consul general.

An honorary consul is generally a native of the country and a consulate general is headed by a Swedish career diplomat.

The two delegations were satisfied when they stepped out into Gustav Adolf square after almost an hour's meeting with Pierre Schori.

"His attitude has changed as a result of the attack by the Yugoslav Army," Roman Vertovec said.

Pierre Schori was unwilling to concede that Sweden's attitude to Slovenia and Croatia has changed. Statements still say that Sweden "supports" the Balts' struggle for independence, but "notes" that Slovenes and Croats want the same in their republics. But in his remarks to the press after the meeting he stressed the following section from the Foreign Ministry's official communique:

"In the long term it is impossible to hold a state together by violence. Real and national unity presupposes democracy and understanding. To try to preserve what has hitherto been the prevailing order by brutal violence or military means is unacceptable." [passage omitted]

BORBA Criticizes Austrian Position on Crisis

LD0907103791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1006 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA, which generally reflects the views of the Yugoslav Government, writes today that Austria as a state "has officially taken the side of secessionism, the overthrow of the constitutional system and break-up of the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia," whereby it has "violated the fundamental principles of neutrality."

Well-known international relations expert Dr. Ranko Petkovic in an article entitled the "Demise of Austria's Eternal Neutrality" says that Austria has "committed itself to extending comprehensive assistance to the secessionism of Slovenia, which means a disintegration of Yugoslavia by means of unilateral and forcible actions."

The Yugoslav Government has sent a note of protest to Austria on account of Vienna's policy.

Petkovic, editor of a respected Belgrade periodical named MEDJUNARODNA POLITIKA (INTERNATIONAL POLITICS) [TANJUG parentheses] says the Yugoslav Government should "inform the countries which established and recognized Austria's neutrality about the violations of the obligations it has taken on itself."

Petkovic says he is puzzled why the world and European powers, who took on clear obligations to the international community in regard to Austria's strict abidance of the principles of neutrality, have not yet diplomatically or in other appropriate manners warned Vienna that its posiiton, role and conduct in the Yugoslav crisis are in conflict with the obligations it took on itself in the state treaty.

EC Observers Arrive To Work Out Cease-Fire

AU0907170491 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Chris Lefkow report]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, July 9 (AFP)—A European Community delegation arrived here on Tuesday to work out the monitoring of a cease-fire in Slovenia amid indications that the EC-mediated agreement on a peaceful settlement to the Yugoslav crisis was starting to fray.

A Dutch Embassy spokesman here said that the EC delegation was composed of five Dutch officials, two from Luxembourg, "one or two" from Portugal and a representative of the European Commission.

He said they are to work out the arrangements for supervision of a cease-fire between the Yugoslav Army and Slovenian forces and monitoring of the implementation of the EC peace agreement.

The EC mission arrived as the Slovenian and Yugoslav federal authorities accused each other of failing to comply with conditions of the accord reached Sunday through EC mediation on the Adriatic Sea island of Brioni. [passage omittted]

Ministry Promises To Investigate Village Attacks

LD0907215491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] A Yugoslav Foreign Ministry official promised Hungary's ambassador in Belgrade that he will examine reports on the blockade of and attack on Korogy village, Vojvodina, as reported in television's "Newsreel" program by the program's correspondent. Defense Ministry spokesman Gyoergy Keleti told Radio Hungary that the Budapest Foreign Ministry immediately contacted the Belgrade government and the Croatian authorities, through the Hungarian consulate in Zagreb. Afterward, the Belgrade promise was made to examine the events and take the necessary measures. Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky this evening informed the Netherlands, which chairs the EC, about the affair.

Slovenia

Reportage on Brioni Accords; Official Views

Assembly Endorses Brioni Accords

AU1007131191 Paris AFP in English 1302 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, July 10 (AFP)—The Slovenian parliament on Wednesday overwhelmingly adoped the EC-brokered Brioni accords aimed at settling the dispute between the breakaway republic and the federal authorities in Belgrade.

The vote in favour of the accords was 189 for, 11 against and seven abstentions in a debate which was televised live on television.

Bucar, Peterle Comment

AU0907173391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1517 GMT 8 Jul 91

[Remarks by Slovene Assembly President Franc Bucar and Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle at a news conference in Cankar Hall, Ljubljana—live]

[Excerpt] [Bucar] [passage omitted] The demands made in this declaration are very harsh and sharp for us. I must also inform you that actually there were no negotiations at Brioni, but rather that the conditions were unilaterally dictated. The EC troika merely wanted to establish, together with us, what are our stands toward individual questions. Afterward, the troika compared our stands with the stands of the federal officials, and finally decided for itself what to offer as a solution. Therefore, this final document is not a result of bilateral or multilateral negotiations, but more a spectrum of the stands to which the EC then, so to say, reacted unilaterally. We found ourself in a situation in which we could either accept or reject this. Finally it was particularly pointed out that the troika would accept no amendments to the declaration offered in such a manner. At the same time, we have to conclude that the reactions of our deputies and our public are and would be very mixed, and that this was one of the reasons for calling the assembly session that is supposed to discuss this question Wednesday in order to give one day's time to the individual parties to formulate their opinions and coolly and reasonably think over their stands. That is, the conditions of this declaration, particularly in the annex, are very sharp, especially because they demand from us practically—I would not like to use the term surrender—a position that nearly equals surrender, without giving any special guarantees that we will not be attacked. The whole construct of the EC troika is based on the idea that the Federal Presidency should be reaffirmed and should gain command of the Army. Departing from this hypothesis, everything else that the troika demanded later is of course perfectly logical. And the essential guarantee offered by the troika lies in this, in fact, because the troika firmly repeated that there should be no military action, no use of force. However, the key issue in this is whether the Army is really under the control of the SFRY Presidency. This is a big question, to which, at the moment, there is still no clear answer, because the ratio of votes in the SFRY Presidency is such that, very often—well, in most of the cases—the situation is such that the SFRY Presidency merely serves to provide legitimacy for what Army has decided. This is a fact that must be borne in mind, and this is the weak point of the troika's stand as a whole.

[Peterle] Regarding point 4 [of Annex 1 of the Brioni Declaration] that concerns the security of borders:

Because of the interpretation that the implementation [of Slovenia's sovereignty] will be suspended on a certain date, the stand that the Yugoslav Army should resume control of the border belt [zeleni pas] is correct from the legal and formal point of view. Of course, it was not possible to point out everything during all that time—although it was very long—at Brioni because it was packed with various meetings at which it was not possible to discuss all dimensions of the individual issues. We did voice our concern over some essential matters that refer to the implementation of this agreement if adopted. We told the EEC representatives that, after what has happened, this Army is no longer a peoples' and no longer a Yugoslav army. It is no longer a peoples' army because it went against its own people, and it is no longer a Yugoslav army because some national components in this army no longer exist. We also drew attention to the fact that it would not be in accordance with

the previous state, with what has happened, and with the consequences that the war activities left in Slovenia, that the Serbian army would henceforth defend our borders, which is the only real thing [as heard]. We also drew attention to the psychological aspect in the matter. If you remember the footage and photographs from Gornja Radgona, the desolation that the army left in this border town, then you can understand the negative attitude of our residents that the very same army that had caused so much fear, that shot at civilians and destroyed civilian targets, would protect the borders of the Slovene state. I anticipate that the observers will be sensitive enough and that they will establish those facts as well, and take them into account when we talk about the implementation of this agreement. [passage omitted]

Kucan Assembly Speech

AU1007111891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1015 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Speech by Slovene President Milan Kucan at the Slovene Assembly session—live]

[Text] Mr. President, respected deputies: This is the 16th day of Slovene independence and the 15th day of war. These few days have fundamentally changed our apparently small world, and have changed Yugoslavia. They have also essentially changed Europe. The Slovene Assembly must learn this today.

Europe is also becoming more and more aware of this and recognizes it: Europe, democratic and secure, which has built a firm vision of its future in Helsinki and Paris. It has introduced an order that it has (?ordered for) itself and that it voluntarily accepts in the interest of its security and peace, in the interest of democracy, economic and general development, and a higher quality of life for its people. dd It is justified to demand that this order be respected by all Europeans consistently and without exception. We Slovenes are Europeans and undoubtedly want to remain so in the future. Therefore, our road to a full recognition of autonomy and independence is long, because it is European and because we ourselves wish it to be European. One of the steps on this road which must be made is the Brioni meeting with the representatives of those countries who are the bearers of the idea about a united Europe, with the declaration that you will discuss and decide upon today.

This declaration is a result of the same political consideration of the European Twelve that made them understand that the situation in Yugoslavia and the threat against the Slovene decision to implement its right to self-determination endanger democracy and thus endanger the foundation of the values of modern European civilization.

The declaration rests on the arrangements with the ministerial troika reached in Zagreb, which have already been discussed and decided upon in the Slovene Assembly. The declaration presents to the Slovene Assembly and the organs of Yugoslavia the conditions under which Europe is prepared to become comprehensively involved so that it may confirmed to peace and to a democratic solution of the Yugoslav crisis and the realization, through agreement, of the sovereign will of every people of Yugoslavia for its own future.

It is up to us now to accept these proposals and, with the help of European countries and institutions, to implement the will of the Slovenes confirmed by plebiscite to live in our own independent, free, and democratic state opened to the world, or without this help, to embark on an uncertain road to the goal that unfortunately, as has been made quite clear now, leads only through war.

At Brioni, where the three European Community ministers invited us, decisions on war and peace were made. You, respected deputies, will make the same decision today. Take it into account that one does not negotiate about war with friends, as Mr. van den Broek, chairman of the Council of Ministers, said, but that one negotiates with adversaries.

Our adversary is hard. What you decide today will make an essential mark on the future and on the very existence of the Slovene people. You will assume full responsibility for this. I have no doubt that on the long road of the struggle for Slovene independence you are sufficiently mature to make such a decision.

By adopting the declaration and the two annexes we will not yet obtain international recognition. However, we will get the opportunity to stop political and military violence, unrestrained and unfounded, and to replace it with the road of agreement and mutual respect of interests. The decision for a democratic road, with the cooperation and support of the European states, which thus assume all the responsibility for the fate of the Slovene people, is also a decision for speedier international recognition and inclusion in European and international institutions.

This is an offer to involve the EC states and the CSCE. Under conditions that are explicitly and unchangeably written down, they are prepared to become involved with their people, with their institutions and means—of course they do so also in their own interest, and the interest of their own peace and security—in order to prevent war and to help in a peaceful way to overcome the crisis and the very demanding relations among the Yugoslav peoples.

One must not forget that this senseless war, which violently interrupted the road to Slovene independence, is raging in the very heart of Europe, that rockets were hitting people on European borders and very, very near European capitals. Europe has recoiled in horror. A wave of indignant protests exerted pressure on European politicians. They did not forget that Yugoslavia was also among the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, with which it assumed the obligation to refrain from acts that threaten the peace and security of European states.

With its decisions demanding that the Yugoslav Army close the borders and that the military might be used in place of, and in order to stop democratic processes, the Yugoslav Government crudely violated its obligation and thus unilaterally pushed all the responsibility for establishing peace onto the EC.

The EC displayed a completely different understanding of its responsibility. It responded to the threat of peace and democracy at once. It formulated its offer with the cooperation of all the sides most directly involved in the conflict. It proposes to us that we accept the offer as a whole, and at the same time it offers its full involvement and co-responsibility. In case we reject the offer, the European countries will be justified in considering that their mission is finished and that they cannot and do not wish to accept any responsibility for the development of events and the uncertain fate and future of the peoples and nations in this region. They cannot force their help and cooperation on us and they do not want to.

The declaration and the annexes are one of the first examples of the European way of solving conflicts as it has been determined in principle with the Paris document. It is certain that from the aspect of our justified Slovene desires of many years the offered package is not ideal, that it demands much self-denial in the interest of common peace. It nevertheless presents an equilibrium, a fragile equilibrium of interests, a fragile interest of peace, which has been very difficult to achieve and into which great efforts by the Slovene delegation are built, too.

We certainly owe thanks and all our appreciation to the people who in the name of the European Community have invested exceptional efforts to stop violence and insanity, and especially to the Troika ministers. I am convinced that our people will know how to value this effort and the adoption of the declaration will be understood also as a show of confidence in the good intentions of the European Community.

Of course the declaration does not yet solve the problem. It is not yet peace, and it is not a recognition of Slovene independence. It is, however, a basic assurance that peace will prevail and it enables us to reach this recognition in a peaceful and democratic way, without violence and war, just as we promised our people who have shown their confidence in us through elections.

Would we win any more with war? At the end of every war, negotiations follow, but many lives are sacrificed. There are too few of us Slovenes for us to lose lives except in the case of extreme necessity, when it is a matter of our freedom and existence. Our mothers and wives give birth to sons for peace and not for war.

The problem of Slovenia, of our emancipation, and of international recognition, has been internationalized. (?We have) ensured that Slovenia will obtain international recognition at once, without waiting for all the agreements on settling the relations in other republics, if military force is used against it again, (?and thus) Slovenia has obtained a strong guarantee in its interest and in the interest of European peace.

Only international supervision and arbitration can stop a march of revenge by the Yugoslav Army or rather by those who abused it against Slovenia. [sentence as heard] The declaration and all the efforts that were necessary to achieve it have asserted Slovenia as an international European negotiator that is capable of negotiating, that is sufficiently flexible and sensible to consider the interests of others, too, and that does not set ultimatums.

To set ultimatums is a sign of a weak, uncreative, and undemocratic policy. With ultimatums, wars are declared and not ended. Slovenia has thus obtained the first dimension of its international recognition.

By agreeing to the declaration, we will be, in three months' time, much nearer to our independence and to the realization of our right to self-determination, which nobody, either in Europe or in Yugoslavia, disputes in principle. We will achieve it in the way we desired it, not at the expense of the interests and rights of others, without endangering a free flow of goods, people, capital, information, and other European values, and without endangering the peace and security of European countries.

We have stated this publicly for a long time. Our decisions were legitimate and legal. Nobody can dispute this.

The three months that we now gain are perhaps of fateful significance because of the events developing in Croatia, in Serbia, and in Macedonia. We would be shortsighted and irresponsible about our own fate if we allowed Slovenia to be the last excuse and pretext for an attempt to unify reactionary forces on an outlived concept of Yugoslavia and an even more outlived ideological foundation on which it rests.

The process of democratization is irresistible in all the peoples of Yugoslavia. On the basis of this process, on the values of European democracy, it is possible to expect among these peoples a different attitude toward the realization of the right of the peoples to self-determination and toward the foundations of future relations. This must be the aim and the content of the negotiations with other republics and organs of the federation, including the question of the gradual withdrawal of the Army from Slovenia.

There was no excuse for war and for aggression on Slovene sovereignty and freedom. Once it was forced on us, the Slovenes, like twice in recent history, have shown that we are prepared to, and know how to defend freedom. We are not a people of war, we are a people of peace. It must be known, however, that without a victory in this first and decisive battle of this imposed war, there would now be no declaration, and peace would be much further away from us than it is now.

Therefore all the Territorial Defense personnel and Internal Affairs organs of the Republic of Slovenia, as well as all our people, deserve our great gratitude and appreciation. [applause]

They fought resolutely and bravely in front of all the world. They did what the motherland demanded of them and more.

Now, on the basis of what they (?pulled from the jaws of war), it is possible to test peace and to preserve the ability of Slovenia to safeguard its independence under these uncertain circumstances.

The accusations of the leading generals of the Yugoslav Army are incomprehensible: they now call those people traitors who did not want to cooperate in the war against the Slovene people, and who did not want to shoot at their own people. We are obliged to protect these people, Slovene patriots, with the authority of the Slovene state. [applause]

And we are obliged to pose the question as to whose fault it is that an unbridgeable chasm has opened between conscience and orders among Yugoslav Army personnel trained for fighting against an external aggressor, and that they have been misused in a military intervention against their own people and the entire nation. This misuse has been an abuse of the popular, Yugoslav, and defense nature of the Yugoslav Army, an abuse of its many excellent, capable, and honest officers. Such an Army can no longer be accepted as our own or as Yugoslav.

Therefore the demand for the release of all Slovene soldiers from the Army is justified, particularly since the Army is now being renewed and complemented more and more with members of one single people, and they, too, do not see any sense in fighting outside the borders of their motherland.

And finally, there was the war in Slovenia. There is only a cease-fire now. Military operations were conducted on Slovene soil, and people died here, not merely Slovene people and not merely people who came here to fight of their own free will. They were virtually still children, entrusted by their parents to the Army to train them to defend the motherland. They were abused most. They deserve our deep sympathy and condolences.

This fact should be considered in the coming negotiations both by us and the European negotiators. The war has changed many things from their very foundations. New facts arose with it, deep human wounds were caused, and they simply cannot be avoided in the future in any way.

Let us not waste too much effort on a discussion of whether it would have been possible to achieve a better starting agreement with the European Twelve. Let us rather rally our forces and join our abilities so that in the negotiations, we may exploit the opportunities and the time better than our adversaries and that we may prevent a war from erupting again after the negotiations end.

Let us not lose patience, as great as the arrogance and cynicism of the propaganda offensive that has started against the independence of Slovenia with such great fury may be. In this period we must continue our efforts to achieve the international recognition of Slovenia, but the struggle for international political recognition must also be transferred to the economic field.

Opening the European market to our economy, the abolition of some economic, trade, customs, and other barriers is part of the co- responsibility of Europe. Europe must know that our aim is also an economically successful and socially just, and not just an independent, Slovenia. Let us demonstrate this.

With the declaration, we have gained three months of peace that is still uncertain. It is up to us to exploit them rationally, so that it will be possible to say after these three months: We have reached our independence on the basis of agreement with other peoples or rather their republics, because in this process we did not demand of them any more than we were prepared and able to grant to others.

Therefore we have agreed to the obligations and also assumed responsibility for them. In the interest of peace, in the interest of (?a sure way to) Slovene independence, and in recognition of you, respected deputies, I propose in the name of the Presidency that you adopt the declaration and the annexes, and that you also adopt the proposed resolution.

I know that you will do this under the pressure of a deep moral dilemma, just like the dilemma that pressed upon all the Slovene negotiators in Brioni. We (?resolved it) under the weight of the common European reality and with the thought that peace outweighs the uncertain short-cut to freedom.

Respected deputies, let the 15th day of war be the first day of peace. Thank you. [applause]

Rupel: Delegates Agree on Plan

LD0907182391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 9 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel on Tuesday stated that the republican delegation, which took part in the talks with the European troika at Brioni, "had a unified approach to the joint declaration.

"There was a guarantee that all would urge the adoption of the declaration" at the republican assembly session on Wednesday, he added.

After the adoption of the Brioni declaration on peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, political analysts in Yugoslavia and the world began speculations on a rift in the Slovenian leadership.

It is claimed that Slovenian President Milan Kucan and Slovenia's representative in the Yugoslav Presidency Janez Drnovsek supported the accord, while Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and republican assembly President France Bucar rejected the accord.

In a statement for the press on Tuesday, Rupel cited that the "competent military and civilian organs of Slovenia, in keeping with the Brioni accord, were already implementing certain items from the declaration and both annexes."

Rupel accused the Yugoslav Army and the federal organs that they confronted with Slovenia by way of "ultimatum demands and threats," despite "positive engagement of Slovenia."

Rupel rejected as "totally groundless" the accusations of the Yugoslav Army about inhuman treatment of the wounded and the detained in Slovenia.

Official: Agreement a 'Catastrophe'

AU0907192691 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1600 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Interview with Slovene Deputy Prime Minister Leo Seserko by Armin Wolf in Ljubljana; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Wolf] Did you really believe in recent days that the Yugoslav Army could bomb civilian targets in Ljubljana, and did you believe in the possibility of an attack with chemical weapons?

[Seserko] I did not believe that they would attack with chemical weapons. However, I expected an attack with cluster bombs. I still expect such an attack. I believe that the generals in Belgrade are oriented toward confrontation even more now that they have had to accept the defeat.

[Wolf] Do you believe that they will also attack civilian targets?

[Seserko] That is the only thing they can hit. They are totally unable to hit the Territorial Defense Forces with bombs. So only civilian targets are left. That also holds largely true for the tank columns. In this respect, the Territorial Defense Forces can hardly be shelled. They are very mobile. However, civilian targets can be bombed.

[Wolf] Are you feeling better and more secure following the Brioni agreement, or do you believe that the danger is the same as before?

[Seserko] I think it is a catastrophe. I have studied the documents that were signed there, and I have found out that it all went in a very odd way. I do not understand why the generals were accepted as partners in the talks at all. I do not know what criteria the gentlemen from the EC have and what gave them the idea to invite the generals to such talks. That is something that I do not understand. Second, the documents do not contain any guarantees for Slovenia or Croatia. However, there are guarantees for the Belgrade government and for the chief of general staff: Slovene customs officials will work here; however, on the basis of regulations laid down by Belgrade.

What astonishes me above all is the fact that the war damages are not mentioned in the documents, nor have any guarantees been given for the security of the Slovene troops in the Yugoslav Army. There are currently about 3,000 Slovene soldiers in the Yugoslav Army. Some escaped in recent days, some were arrested, and some of them have even been treated correctly, but some of them—several hundred, in our view—have been mistreated, tied up in their cells, and tortured. The Brioni documents only contain guarantees for prisoners of war of the Yugoslav Army, but do not say a word on guarantees for the Slovene soldiers in this Army.

[Wolf] Was it a mistake by the Slovene delegation to agree to this agreement?

[Seserko] I could not tell for the moment because we have not had time to discuss it in detail. Nor do I know under what conditions the talks were conducted. What I know is that the EC troika threatened repeatedly to leave the negotiations. My impression is that that is why the Slovene delegation gave in to save the talks. I am not sure whether it will lead to success in the future.

[Wolf] Has the danger of intervention by the Army increased or decreased?

[Seserko] I would say that the EC has done something to prevent the danger of another all-out attack on Slovenia. However, I am not sure whether the talks were helpful in this respect. Above all, I do not think the fact that the United States continues to finance the Yugoslav Government and the Yugoslav Army helps reduce the danger of another conflict.

[Wolf] If I asked you to assess the likeliness of another attack by the Army by giving a percentage figure, what would be your answer?

[Seserko] Well, I am not a military expert, and I am hardly able to answer this question, however, I would say that the Army needs more than 10 days to launch another attack. But it will have to attack within three months, so the period of three months that has been agreed upon with the EC can be observed.

[Wolf] What can the Slovene side do within these three months?

[Seserko] That is hard to say. The Slovene Assembly must meet and discuss matters. However, I personally do not see much leeway of action for Slovenia within these three months. I personally think that it is just a waste of

time. The Belgrade government, which was never democratically elected; Markovic and the other figures in Belgrade who are the old politicians from the postwar era, are not at all ready to talk about a solution to the conflict, nor are they at all ready to give in because that would automatically mean that they would lose their jobs. Therefore, they will do everything in their power to prevent any positive decisions. [passage omitted]

[Wolf] What will happen after these three months? Do you expect Slovenia to become a totally independent state, like Austria, Hungary, or Italy, for instance?

[Seserko] I am no prophet. I cannot predict what will happen after 1 October. However, I do know that we do not want to have the same situation as the Baltic republics and the other republics in the Soviet empire. In fact, Slovenia today is a sovereign state. We control the borders, we are in control of the country, and according to international law, we are really a sovereign state. I cannot imagine that the Yugoslav Army will change this state of affairs. In my view, it is just a matter of time for Slovenia to be internationally recognized as a sovereign state and then to try to repair the economic and psychological damage that has been caused.

[Wolf] In your view, how long could it take until Slovenia will be internationally recognized?

[Seserko] I hope that the first few countries will recognize Slovenia following 1 October. I firmly expect Austria to be among the first to recognize Slovenia. If you do not do so, I expect repeated new attacks by the Yugoslav Army.

[Wolf] Do you still consider Slovenia as forming part of Yugoslavia now?

[Seserko] By no means. We hoisted our flag on 27 June, and from that date, Yugoslavia has ceased to exist.

[Wolf] DELO, the most important Slovene daily, carried an editorial yesterday headlined "The Honeymoon Between Slovenia and Croatia Is Over". Many Slovenes are disappointed at Croatia's attitude in recent weeks, above all at the attitude of Croatian President Stipe Mesic, Croatian Prime Minister Ante Markovic, and Croatian Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar. Have the Croats let Slovenia down in recent weeks?

[Seserko] On one hand, they have, but on the other hand, I understand Croatia. Croatia is in a dilemma, in a very difficult situation. The problem is how to get out of this dilemma. In my view, some politicians, including President Mesic, have miscalculated the situation. Sooner or later, he will have to make different decisions.

[Wolf] Some people say that the Yugoslav Army probably has already given up and written off Slovenia, and the real Yugoslav crisis will take place in Croatia. Do you share that view?

[Seserko] It is only partly correct. It is correct that the main forces of the Yugoslav Army are intended for Croatia. They will try to restore order in Croatia according to Serbian criteria and ideals. However, I believe that because of their hurt pride the generals in Belgrade will try once again to attack Slovenia. [passage omitted]

SDP Party Upholds Declaration

LD0907165691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 9 (TANJUG)—The party of Democratic Renewal (SDP) of Slovenia (former communists) assesses the Brioni declaration as being 'a very valuable contribution to the peace and security of the citizens of Slovenia,' SDP President Ciril Ribicic told a news conference today.

Ribicic underscored the importance of 'Europe's direct participation, or rather, of international arbitrage' in resolving the conflict in Yugoslavia.

The Brioni accord 'is important not only for guaranteeing a three-month peace, but also because during that period it will be possible to continue with the process with which any real possibility of another attack on Slovenia would be annulled,' said Ribicic.

Ribicic also said that rather than polemics on why the Brioni accord came about, it would be better if efforts in Slovenia were directed towards preparations for three-month-long negotiations.

It would be better to turn to economic problems, and Europe's political support should also be reflected through its economic support, said Ribicic.

Kacin Statement at 9 Jul News Conference

AU0907121991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0913 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Statement by Slovene Information Secretary Jelko Kacin at a news conference in Cankar Hall in Ljubljana—live]

[Text] [broadcast in progress] ...and on 8 July, helicopters of the Yugoslav Army with Red Cross markings transported reinforcements to the barracks in Ljubljana, Vrhnika, Maribor, and Novo Mesto. They are primarily bringing in officers from barracks in Belgrade and Zagreb. This means they are bringing in fresh officer cadres.

In addition, the Yugoslav Army is still failing to provide complete information on overflights by military helicopters and above all does not respect international conventions relating to control and inspection of freight that is being carried. The violation of the convention on announcing overflights and arrivals of military helicopters occurred twice—the second time today—even in connection with the arrival of Mr. Bogicevic and Mr.

Tupurkovski, members of Yugoslavia's Presidency, who arrived in Ljubljana aboard a military helicopter, which endangered their safety.

We were informed of their arrival today again only after the helicopter had taken off, and not in enough time to ensure all the urgently necessary security measures.

The Yugoslav Army is continuing a large-scale mobilization of its reserves in Serbia, Vojvodina, Montenegro, and some other parts of Yugoslavia. At the moment, more than 200,000 reserves, predominantly of Serbian nationality, have been called to active service. Some have joined various units, even the First Guard Armored and Mechanized Division, which is already in its fully mobilized state and has taken the starting positions for a march westward.

We must understand that the real danger to the Republic of Slovenia is not the Yugoslav Army units deployed in our territory, but those stationed in Yugoslavia, which is to say parts of the 32d, 10th, and 13th Corps which have been used in the first stage of the aggression against Slovenia.

At the same time, a mobilization of Serbia's Territorial Defense has been carried out; the plans envisage it as a part of the second wave of forces if aggression against the west of Yugoslavia is renewed. These Territorial Defense units would militarily neutralize the regions of Serbia where conflicts threaten, such as Kosovo and Sandzak, and in this way enable the mobile units of the Yugoslav Army to move from the territory of Serbia to the west.

The Yugoslav Army is carrying out intensive air observation or reconnaissance of the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. Throughout the cease-fire, military helicopters and reconnaissance planes have been flying over the Republic of Slovenia.

No start has yet been made with regard to the release of prisoners, that is, Slovene citizens, from the Yugoslav Army. The Yugoslav Army does not allow any inspection by the International Red Cross of its prisons. In contrast, Slovenia has unilaterally released most of its prisoners of war.

In this connection I may warn you that the Presidency of Slovenia asked twice in writing for information on prisoners from Territorial Defense units and the militia held by the Yugoslav Army, but it has not yet obtained any reply. The Yugoslav Army has replied in writing only once, and even on that occasion it only reported the number of casualties on its side and nothing else.

We must not ignore a fact that is particularly tragic: that the Yugoslav Army has not removed the mine fields it had planted outside its barracks and outside its perimeter fences, and that such mine fields continue to appear. That this is not an idle fabrication is demonstrated by the tragic event near Pivka yesterday, when someone accidentally stepped on such an anti-personnel mine and was seriously wounded in both legs.

I stress once again that this document has been conveyed to the two members of the Presidency who are now starting their visit to Slovenia. It has been conveyed to all members of the Presidency as well as to the chairman of the European Community for his information.

I also wish to inform you of a letter I have just received from the Red Cross of Slovenia. It asserts that at the beginning of the war it called on both sides to send, in conformity with the Geneva Conventions and other regulations, to the Red Cross all the necessary information relating to the wounded, dead, and captured soldiers and civilians of its own and of the opposing side. Respective authorities in the Republic of Slovenia have been fulfilling this obligation, but the Army, as I have said, has conveyed to the Red Cross a single letter which notes that the Yugoslav Army had 42 wounded, and this is all.

The Red Cross has again requested that the 5th Army Region convey information from the Ljubljana and Maribor Corps areas. They proposed visits by parents to soldiers in detention and asked that Red Cross representatives or delegates of the International Red Cross Committee be allowed to visit barracks and military prisons. In this way they would make possible an objective assessment of the situation and would be able to present in their report an answer to all who worry—both parents and the public—and report on what the actual situation is.

It was also proposed to the Red Cross of Yugoslavia to reach an agreement with the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army to make possible such visits to barracks elsewhere in Yugoslavia. In conformity with the Geneva Conventions, the Red Cross republican committee conveyed to the Ljubljana Corps a message asking it to hand these written documents to the soldiers imprisoned in these barracks and enable them at least to call their parents by telephone.

Unfortunately, up to this moment, there has been no reply on any of these matters.

As regards the untruths about the treatment of military prisoners that the Yugoslav Army repeats every day, the Slovene Red Cross says that we should ask the International Red Cross Committee to express its opinion. Mirko Jelenic, secretary of the Red Cross Presidium, especially stresses that when 86 Yugoslav Army officers were released yesterday, he personally asked all the groups released whether they had anything to say about their treatment as prisoners regarding food, health care, or status, and he asserts that not one complained. On the contrary, they stated that the attitude of both the leadership and of the prison officers was correct, and their food was in order and caused no complaints.

As is known, the first contingent of captured Yugoslav Army soldiers was handed to Yugoslav Red Cross representatives on Friday. All the organs of the state of Slovenia—the internal affairs organs and Territorial Defense organs—continue to convey to the Red Cross

additional information about soldiers that must be handed over to the Yugoslav Red Cross. Two collection centers have been assigned in which all the soldiers surrendering in recent days are concentrated, so that they may be handed over to Red Cross representatives tomorrow.

The Red Cross of Slovenia assumes the obligation to report daily on changes in this situation and to inform you exhaustively about facts that concern military prisoners in particular, because they are indeed being manipulated in some parts of Yugoslavia and a psychosis of indignation is maintained among the people who are convinced that we do not treat the prisoners in Slovenia in a proper way.

So much for the introduction.

Presidency Sends Letter to Leaders

AU0907150291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Report on letter from the Slovene Presidency to the session of the Federal Presidency on 9 July]

[Text] The Presidency noted that intensive activities are being carried out by the Republic of Slovenia to meet the obligations stated in Points 5 and 6 of Annex 1 of the joint declaration adopted at Brioni on 7 July this year.

The Presidency also noted that some requirements or obligations of these two points cannot be realized without a more specific agreement or without the operational details being settled. In this respect, the organs of the Republic of Slovenia expect expert advice and interpretation of the annex to the joint declaration by the EC observers mission.

On the basis of information and evidence available to the organs of Slovenia, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia on the other hand noted that federal organs and the Yugoslav Army are obviously violating the obligations accepted with the Brioni declaration.

Respective federal organs have not yet allowed, or made it possible, to reopen the airports in the Republic of Slovenia. Not all units of the Yugoslav People's Army are in their barracks yet. This applies both to units in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia and to units oin the territory of the Republic of Croatia and elsewhere in Yugoslavia, from which aggression had been carried out against the Republic of Slovenia or from which Slovenia is potentially threatened.

Detachments of armored units from the Pivka barracks are still stationed at the Alsevica barracks near Nova Gorica. Fresh units of the Yugoslav Army have been transferred from the Kranj barracks to the Bohinjska Bela barracks and its vicinity.

On 7 and 8 July the Yugoslav Army, and on 8 July its helicopters displaying Red Cross markings, transported reinforcements to the barracks in Ljubljana, Vrhnika, Maribor, and Novo Mesto, and elsewhere from barracks in Belgrade and Zagreb. The Yugoslav Army still is not providing complete information on overflights by military helicopters and refuses to implement the provisions of international conventions relating to control and inspection of freight carried.

The violation of the convention on announcing the overflights and arrivals of military helicopters even endangered the safety of Mr. Bogicevic and Mr. Tupurkovski, members of Yugoslavia's Presidency, who were twice taken to Ljubljana by military helicopter, and the flights were not announced or were not announced in good time.

A great danger to the Republic of Slovenia, or rather to its defense in case of possible renewed aggression, is presented by units of the Yugoslav Army stationed in Yugoslavia rather than by units in Slovenia. Even in the first stage of aggression, for instance, units of the 32d, 10th, and 13th Corps were used.

Therefore the large-scale mobilization of its reserves carried out by the Yugoslav Army in Serbia, Vojvodina, Montenegro, and some other parts of Yugoslavia is a threat of violence to the Republic of Slovenia and at the same time a violation of the provisions of the Joint Declaration of Brioni and contrary to its peace efforts.

According to information available, this mobilization has not been canceled and is continuing. About 200,000 reserves, predominantly of Serbian nationality, have been called to active service. The call-up of such a large number of reserves of Serb nationals has changed the national composition of the Yugoslav Army, which is thus losing more and more its nature of a joint armed force of the peoples and nationalities.

Some large and important units of the Yugoslav Army have thus become exclusively Serbian units, for instance the First Guard Armored and Mechanized Division, which is already in its fully mobilized state and has taken a starting position for a march westward.

Mobilization of Serbia's Territorial Defense has been carried out; the plans envisage it as a part of the second wave of forces if the aggression against the west, which is to say the Republic of Slovenia, is renewed.

Every day since the cease-fire, the Yugoslav Army has carried out intensive air observation of the Republic of Slovenia. In addition to helicopters, reconnaissance planes have been flying over Slovenia.

The Yugoslav Army has not removed or deactivated mine fields and is even laying new ones outside its barracks in the direction of inhabited areas, thus endangering the civilian population.

The Republic of Slovenia is fully implementing its obligations regarding point 6 of Annex 2 of the joint declaration, because it unilaterally adopted the decision to release all prisoners of war. The great majority have been released, and the remaining cannot be released,

because Yugoslav Army organs reject the mediating role of the Red Cross and thus prevent the implementation of the provisions of the aforementioned point 6.

As soon as cooperation is established with the International Red Cross, the organs of the Republic of Slovenia will release the remaining prisoners through its mediation.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia must, on the other hand, resolutely draw attention to the violations of these obligations by the Yugoslav Army, because that Army has not released a single captured man of the Slovene Territorial Defense, nor any officers and soldiers from Slovenia it has forcibly detained.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia in this connection has written twice to the SFRY Presidency, but it has not received any reply. The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia also draws attention to the fact that the organs of the Republic of Slovenia are fulfilling all their obligations toward the Red Cross and facilitate its mission, while the Yugoslav Army has not supplied any information so far.

The Red Cross of Slovenia received through the Yugoslav Red Cross information about only 42 wounded Yugoslav Army personnel. The Yugoslav Army also fails to allow Red Cross representatives to enter military facilities to convince themselves about the actual situation, especially to see how soldiers and officers from Slovenia are treated.

Drawing attention to the violations of the declaration by the Yugoslav Army and the Yugoslav organs, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia expresses its expectation that the SFRY Presidency, in accordance with its powers and responsibilities, will order the respective organs to begin to implement the obligations assumed and thus make possible a peaceful resolution to the present situation.

We also inform you that the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, at its session convened for tomorrow, 10 July at 1200, will discuss the Joint Declaration of Brioni.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia will inform Mr. Hans Van den Broek, chairman of the EC, of the content of this letter.

[Signed] Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia.

Ministers 9 Jul News Conference Reported

LD1007063791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0053 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 9 (TANJUG)—'Slovenia has no alternative between war and peace because it did not start the war and its genuine aim is peace', Slovenian Interior Minister Igor Bavcar said at a news conference in the republican capital Ljubljana this evening.

Yugoslav Presidency members Vasil Tupurkovski and Bogic Bogicevic were also scheduled to appear at the conference, but they left before it started for Zagreb for a meeting with Presidency President Stjepan Mesic.

Bavcar said the two presidency members had talked with their hosts about observance of decisions of the Yugoslav presidency, particularly ceasefire violations, the situation outside Yugoslav people's (JNA) army barracks, detainees, the care of wounded persons and their release.

Bavcar and Slovenian Information Minister Jelko Kacin also spoke about the Brioni declaration, a reduction in the republican Territorial Defence's active strength, which they said 'is running according to plan in spite of a real danger of a new attack by the JNA,' and the mobilization of reservists in the republics of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They denied a claim that eight ships carrying weapons had set sail for Slovenia recently from Lebanon. Asked if a Yugoslav navy (JRM) fleet equipped with missiles 'which can cover one-quarter of Slovenia's territory' was lying off the coast of Slovenia, the two ministers replied positively.

Chamber Hears Report on Danger of Economic War

AU1007092191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0800 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] The Slovene Economic Chamber has been receiving worrying reports from some republics lately that the local authorities are blocking payment of the obligations to legal and physical entities from Slovenia and that in some places they have undertaken even more rigorous measures like the confiscation of premises, equipment, and other property belonging to Slovene companies.

In connection with this the [Slovene] Economic Chamber points out that such behavior not only contradicts the long-term goals that are to be reached by the Brioni declaration, but it might also represent the beginning of a destructive commercial war, as Slovene companies would be forced to take countermeasures.

It is in the interest of the economies of all republics that the offered cease of hostilities be used for the revitalization and normalization of economic flows. Therefore, the Slovene Economic Chamber proposes a meeting of the presidents of all republican and economic chambers today. At the meeting they will analyze the extent of all damaging consequences, and formulate an appropriate agreement that would be in the interest of all republican, provincial, and (?regional) economies.

Parties Air Views on Brioni Document

AU1007085191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0755 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] Since the initial reaction to the Brioni declaration was pessimistic or negative on Monday [8 July], the top officials of the Slovene Presidency, Assembly, and Government recommended to the leaders of the parties and deputy caucuses to (?more thoroughly) analyze the Brioni documents on Tuesday. A number of meetings and consultations followed. After that one could hear calmer tones.

Dr. Joze Pucnik, leader of the Social Democratic Party, stated: we will grit our teeth and vote for the declaration. Christian Socialist Matija Kavcic expressed the view that the Brioni declaration was a compromise and the best solution at this moment. Joze Skolc, leader of the Liberal Democrats, said that the declaration promises peace and the consentaneous resolution of problems. Bozidar Boljc, leader of the Greens, said that landmarks must be set in the further talks. According to him, there can be no abatement when it comes to Slovenia's independence. He said that the return of Slovene soldiers from the Army should be ensured.

The Peasants People Party proposed that the Assembly envisage additional demands for the future negotiations in the country, and raised the question of guarantees after the 3-month moratorium.

The presidents of the parliamentary parties and deputy caucuses yesterday harmonized their views on the Brioni declaration. Only the Liberal Party of Kranj Craftsmen decided to recommend to its deputies not to vote for the adoption of the Brioni document today unless the Assembly adopts additional measures.

Additional measures were also mentioned by the leaders of Demos. The result of this harmonization of views was announced last night by Dusan Plut, member of the Slovene Presidency, expressing the hope that the adoption of the declaration is in the interest of the endeavor for the independence of Slovenia.

Dusan Plut also said that the Presidency of Slovenia formulated additional conclusions and proposed a formula according to which the republican assembly would unreservedly and unconditionally accept the Brioni declaration and this way express its trust in the bona fide mediation of the EC.

We will hear more about this at a session of the republican assembly today.

Army Accused of Red Cross Insignia 'Abuse'

LD1007024191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0000 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Because of unannounced and unauthorized flights of the Yugoslav Army's helicopters and the abuse of their Red Cross insignia, the Slovene Ministry of Defense has addressed a letter of protest to the command headquarters of the Fifth Military District and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

The letter states that in spite of the ministry's warning on Monday, Yugoslav Army helicopters marked with the Red Cross insignia are still landing at the barracks without being monitered by the Slovene Ministry of Defense. The ministry warns the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the command headquarters of the Fifth Military District that they are duty-bound to guarantee—in keeping with the addenda to the protocol of the Geneva conventions—that any flight of a helicopter is announced and authorized, that it flies along precisely specified routes, that each flight is separately specified, that it flies at a precisely specified altitude, and that it lands to have its cargo and passengers examined at temporary helicopter pads which have been designated by the ministry and about which the ministry has informed the addressees.

The ministry warns and stresses that it has irrefutable evidence, which has also been presented to the international public and the International Red Cross, that the Red Cross insignia is being used as a means of transporting armed formations of the Yugoslav Army.

The Slovene Ministry of Defense will consider each landing of the Yugoslav Army's helicopters at a barracks which is carried out in contravention of the regulations specified above as a violation and will act accordingly. The letter of protest to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the command headquarters of the fifth Military District also says that responsibility for the consequences which might arise will be borne by both addressees.

Slovenia's Red Cross has also voiced its protest at the violations of the Geneva conventions and the abuse of the Red Cross insignia. In its letter addressed to the presidency of the Republic of Slovenia and the republican ministry for national defense, the Red Cross draws attention—in keeping with its humanitarian role and mission—to the fact that the abuse of the Red Cross insignia on the Yugoslav Army helicopters is resulting in a growing number of protests and dissatisfaction, as well as mistrust, in the insignia of this humanitarian organization. It is necessary for both participants in the conflict to conduct themselves in keeping with the Geneva Conventions that regulate the use of the Red Cross insignia on aircraft and helicopters used in evacuating the wounded and patients and transporting medical personnel and equipment.

Such aircraft must not be attacked by anyone provided their flights have previously been agreed to and approved by both warring parties. Aircraft and helicopters are protected by the Red Cross insignia only when they fly at agreed altitudes and times and along routes mutually designated by the warring parties. Flights over a theater of war, both over the enemy's soil and over the occupied territory, are forbidden if there is no agreement. Medical aid aircraft are subjected to every order to land. In the event of an involuntary landing the wounded and patients as well as crew members assume the status of POW's.

The use of a helicopter bearing the Red Cross insignia that ferried civilians and soldiers to the Slovenska Bistrica garrison, an event that was shown on Slovene television last night, constitutes the grossest abuse of the insignia and a gross violation of the conventions. The Red Cross of Slovenia, like all other national organizations of the Red Cross, is duty-bound to prevent any abuse of the Red Cross insignia. This is why in its letter it asks the republican president and the Ministry of Defense to demand—in the course of their negotations with the other side—that international humanitarian law should be strictly observed in the use of the Red Cross insignia. The Red Cross of Slovenia will also inform the representatives of the International Red Cross of Geneva about these violations so they too can protect the Red Cross insignia with their authority.

Because all state organs of the Republic of Slovenia are acting in the spirit of the Geneva conventions and comply with the international regulations and duties regarding the use of the Red Cross insignia and their treatment of the wounded, POW's soldiers, and civilians, and since they are supplying the Red Cross of Slovenia with all relevant information, it is necessary to ensure that the other side should act in the same way. Unfortunately though, the Yugoslav Army has not responded yet to the appeals of the Red Cross of Slovenia and has failed to provide information about the killed, wounded, and seized members of the Territorial Defense, police, and civilians.

This is why the Red Cross asks the republican presidency and the Ministry of Defense to raise—within their powers and in line with the procedures following the Brioni declaration regarding regulating the open issues between both sides—the question of these problems, among others, in the course of their negotations.

Kacin Says YPA Not Honoring Agreements

LD0907200191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—"There is a large amount of evidence that neither the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] nor the federal organs are implementing the conclusions from the last session of the SFRY Presidency," Jelko Kacin, minister of information of the Republic of Slovenia, said at a news conference this evening.

At the same time he cited a number of examples to illustrate his point: delays in withdrawing some YPA units to the barracks, helicopters with Red Cross markings that are not carrying only food and medicine. This information was imparted to members of the Federal Presidency Vasil Tupurkovskiy and Bogic Bogicevic during their visit to Slovenia today, Kacin stressed.

DELO: Customs Agreement Not Capitulation

LD0907164291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1402 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana daily DELO believes that 'Slovenia's agreement to deposit customs duty revenues to the Federal Government does not mean that this Yugoslav Republic has capitulated.'

The provision for the payment of customs duties to the Federal treasury is one of the clauses in the declaration adopted at the negotiations of the Yugoslav Federal and republican leaders and three-member delegation of the European Community (E.C.) held on the Brioni on Sunday.

The daily, which is issued in the capital of Slovenia, notes that the agreement has also an additional condition, that the 'duties will be payed into a separate Federal account and that the inflow of funds will be supervised.'

This will allow greater insight into who makes payments and who does not and how much they owe, the daily underscores, noting that 'Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic found the annex of the Brioni agreement the most controversial.'

'Perhaps the game of open cards and settled accounts, thanks to the E.C., is just beginning,' the daily concludes.

Slovenia first rejected to pay customs duties to the Federal treasury and then on June 20 signed with the Federal Government an agreement on depositing customs duties, then proclaimed the republic's independence and autonomy on June 25, considering the agreement null and void.

Minister Insists Army Violating Agreements

LD0907220191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1908 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—"Attempts to blame Slovenia for allegedly not observing the agreements aim to create space for further measures." This is what Igor Bavcar, internal affairs minister of the Republic of Slovenia, said at the news conference this evening to brief journalists on talks between SFRY Presidency members Bogic Bogicevic and Vasil Tupurkovski in Ljubljana today.

"It is in Slovenia's interest, however, to have a peaceful solution to the present situation. The alternative is neither war nor peace. Slovenia did not start the war; it was defending itself," said Bavcar, claiming that a number of actions by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in the last few days and today show that its members violate the agreements.

"Very intensive flights of the YPA helicopters were noted. Only a few of them gave precise information on time, altitude, place of landing, and other details which

are necessary according to the international convention for observing the cease-fire," said Igor Bavcar.

Police Shoot at Soldiers Escaping From Barracks

AU0907145091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] The [Slovene] Ministry of Information has just reported that a group of 25 soldiers escaped from the Yugoslav Peoples' Army barracks in Postojna at 1529 [1329 GMT] today, and that the military police shot at them.

At the moment, we do not know whether any of the escaped soldiers were wounded or killed. They scattered around the Postojna area and probably sought shelter in private houses and apartments.

Medical Officer Reports on Treatment of Soldiers

LD0907213891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1004 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 9 (TANJUG)—Chief of the Federal Defence Secretariat's medical corps Lieutenant General Dr Vladimir Vojvodic told a press conference here Monday evening that he had "no professional objections" to the treatment of wounded soldiers and officers in Slovenia.

General Vojvodic said he had visited several civilian hospitals in that Yugoslav republic in which 36 army officers and soldiers wounded in clashes with the Slovenian territorial defence had been admitted. My impression is that they have been provided with complete and adequate medical treatment from the moment of their arrival to the hospitals, he said.

General Vojvodic, however, had "serious objections" to their treatment from the time of wounding to the admittance in hospital.

Citing concrete examples, he accused the Slovenian territorial defence of preventing, in some cases, the arrival of vehicles with the Red Cross mark, and even arresting members of army medical teams.

Croatia

Tudjman Appeals Against 'Recriminations'

LD0907085291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 8 Jul 91

[Text] President Tudjman has addressed the domestic and international public regarding the state and political crisis of a Yugoslavia which exists only in formal terms of international law, where ideological, political, and interethnic disputes have reached such a pitch that hatred and the danger of recrimination through war are fraught with catastrophic consequences.

This is why President Tudjman appeals directly to the Croatian people in their homeland and abroad as well as all the citizens of the Republic of Croatia, while stressing that Croatia has accepted the proposals of the three-member EC mission on condition that the referendum decision on Croatia's sovereignty is not called in question and that the demand for Army withdrawal to barracks is applied to the Army in Croatia, too. Tudjman also addressed a direct message to the Serbs in Croatia. He stresses in this context that in his capacity as president of the republic he guarantees with full accountability all civil and national rights to members of the Serbian nation in Croatia. But he also maintains that it is high time for them to be an active, rather than just passive, resistance to the Chetniks' terror, thus expressing their patriotic allegiance to Croatia.

In his appeal, Tudjman calls on the Croatian people in their homeland to exercise reason and self-control. He promises that he will strive to the last to prevent the terrorism of the outlaws from turning into all-out bloodshed and a destructive war. Nevertheless, he promises an all-out defense to the last.

Addressing the political leadership of the Republic of Serbia and the entire Serbian nation, Tudjman notes that the Serbian and Croatian nations, as the two largest nations, set up their shared state through different motives. Life in their shared state since 1918 has resulted in mutual rejection, total mistrust, and even the kind of hatred that threatens the kind of recrimination reminiscent of World War II. This is why we ought now to sit down at the roundtable rather than exchange accusations, so as to discuss all problems openly. For, Tudjman said in his appeal, gone are the times when Stojadinovic [prewar Serbian prime minister] could say that there was no need to talk with the Croats because they can be held in check with Korosec's Christian Party and Spaho's Muslims. In his appeal tonight, Croatian President Tudjman appealed also to the Slovene nation and its state and political leadership as he denied that Croatia had nearly betrayed Slovenia by claiming that the major difference between the positions of the two republics had brought about different decisions on the process of independence.

Tudjman also addressed the peoples and the political leaderships of the other republics, stressing in this part of his letter the well-known standpoint of the Republic of Croatia concerning the resolution of the Yugoslav state crisis. And in the section of the letter directed at the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav armed forces and all members of the Army, he requests that this command, as soon as possible and in the most convincing way, dispel the accumulated suspicion amongst the Croatian public about the antidemocratic and anti-Croatian intentions of the Army, and also that the Army adhere to the agreement with the EC, and that the command of the Army take decisive measures to prevent possible adventurist plans for a military campaign against Croatia.

In his letter President Tudjman also addresses the governments and democratic public of the EC and participants in the CSCE, guaranteeing that Croatia will adhere to the commitments it has taken on.

Croatia Takes Brioni Agreement 'Seriously'

LD0907173291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia takes seriously the agreement reached on Brioni with EC representatives because it opens up the possibility of resolving the Yugoslav state and political crisis in a way acceptable to all sides. In this context, Croatia is ready to accept their arbitration, Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan told a regular news conference today. It was announced at the news conference that the first EC observers will arrive today, and their overall number to arrive in Yugoslavia should be, as it was said, 30 to 50.

We are satisfied, Domljan said, that the Slovenian and Croatian issue is now within the sphere of European attention.

Replying to a question on relations between Croatia and Slovenia, Domljan said it was not true that they are at a low level now, but on the contrary, they are very good. He stressed that there are only different approaches to certain dissociation issues. The Republic of Croatia adopted documents on its independence but did not start fully impleinenting them immediately. Hence, Domljan stressed, Croatia found it easier to accept the agreement with EC representatives.

Asked for how long Croatia will be between war and peace, Zarko Domljan replied: Until we have reached an agreement between republics either on the alliance of sovereign states or on a peaceful dissociation.

The news conference today was, for the first time, attended by new Croatian Internal Affairs Minsiter Onesin Cvitan, who, among other things, stressed that there is a difference between the real situation and the legal competence of the SFRY Presidency regarding the Army, saying that "Army control remains predominantly in the hands of the SFRY Presidency."

Onesin Cvitan and Milan Brezak, his assistant, reported that, since August last year, 29 members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry have been killed in armed conflicts, while 99 were wounded. A total of 13 citizens were killed and 67 wounded.

Replying to a question on how many were killed "on the other side," Cvitan and Brezak said they did not have the details, but as an illustration they said that, during conflicts in Borovo Selo, 300 sniper bullets were fired. According to a military theory, as they said, three sniper bullets out of five hit their target. This can lead to a conclusion about the consequences, Cvitan and Brezak stressed at a regular news conference in the Croatian Assembly.

Council To Request International Observer Teams

LD0907135891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1339 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 9 (TANJUG)—Croatia will request the sending of international observer teams to the crisis-stricken areas of the republic, especially if the Yugoslav People's Army units do not return to the barracks until the deadline set, a statement from last night's session of the Croatian Supreme State Council said.

The statement stressed the importance of the Brioni accord on ceasefire and the Army withdrawal for the holding and conclusion of talks on a lasting settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

It said that the international public "realizes that the main problem lies in Serbo-Croat relations and, in this context, in the Yugoslav Army's current attitude towards Croatia."

East Slavonija's 3-Month Crisis Claims 90 Lives

LD0907174191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Excerpt] Osijek, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—In the last three months in numerous incidents, 90 people—policemen, national guard members, and civilians—have died in the crisis-hit municipalities of East Slavonija. This is what Zlatko Kramaric, president of the municipal assembly, told domestic and foreign journalists at an Osijek news conference.

Among other things, he also said that they have still not managed to reach, despite several attempts, the old part of Tenja village, the spot where there is still an unidentified number of dead and perhaps some national guard members who are wounded and still alive, when there were severe fights on 7 July. According to reliable sources, several dead civilians lie there, said Kramaric. These are most probably, he added, the Croatians from the old part of Tenja who did not manage to leave the village. Kramaric repeated that around 4,000 Croatians left the new part of Tenja temporarily in the last 10 days because of, as he said, the terror of Chetniks to which they were exposed. Therefore, to enable them to return home, the intervention of Ministry of Internal Affairs members and the national guard occurred "against the identified Croatians in Tenja." [passage omitted]

Over 9,500 Refugees Registered in Vojvodina

LD1007120191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0844 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Summary] Novi Sad, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Up to this morning the total of 9,528 refugees who crossed from

border locations in Croatia into Vojvodina were officially registered in Vojvodina municipalities. The majority of the refugees have been given shelter in the municipalities of Sid, Apatin, Novi Sad, Sombor, Sremska Mitrovica, and Bac. According to the Vojvodina Information Secretariat, which supplied the above figures, telephone links between Novi Sad [Vojvodina] and Osijek [in Croatia] have been cut off since yesterday. This is described as yet another act of political propaganda by the Croatian authorities.

'Chetniks' Reportedly Burn Slavonian Village

LD1007114891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] We have received an on-the-scene report by Ferenc Szaniszlo, Hungarian television correspondent, from Korog, which is inhabited by Magyars, and is surrounded by armed Serbs.

[Szaniszlo] In Korog, this Slavonian Magyar village, there was no fighting during the night, probably due to the consultation between the Hungarian and the Yugoslav foreign ministries. The "Panorama" film crew spent the night in the positions of the people of Korog. At dawn, mines exploded near the village. Chetniks occupying the neighboring Serbian villages had probably attacked the high-tension transmission lines. Nearby, a gun battle took place between the Croatian police and Serbian Chetniks.

Korog was not directly attacked in the night. In the morning, from the direction of neighboring Silas, which is occupied by Chetniks, an armored Yugoslav People's Army vehicle rumbled through Korog. No incidents occurred.

Clouds of smoke rising from the nearby village of Belje are easily visible in Korog. According to reports, Chetniks removed the inhabitants of the small Croatian village and then looted and set fire to their homes. The Chetniks probably plan the same fate for Korog, which has a population of 900.

Korog remains besieged. The attack could begin any minute. Those who are able, escape to nearby Osijek or Hungary. There is no medicine and no dressings for wounds in the village. There are no doctors, because Chetniks have fired on the car of the district doctor, who comes over from the neighboring village.

As of the time of my report, the investigating committee promised by the Yugoslav authorities has not arrived at Korog.

Domljan: Leaders Want 'Ethnically Pure Army'

LD0907172791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 9 (TANJUG)—Croatian parliament President Zarko Domljan today accused the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) of preparing purges among the officer cadre and clearing the way for the "creation of an ethnically pure Army."

Domljan made the statement before the deputies of the Croatian Assembly, invoking an "order of the Army Commander Gen. Veljko Kadijevic" carried by Croatian Television's prime news broadcast last night.

It remained unknown how the text of the alleged "order", carried by the Zagreb press and the CROATIAN NEWS AGENCY HINA this morning, reached the newsmen.

The "order" assessed that the "situation in Yugoslavia was deteriorating hour by hour" and that the "situation in the Army was unstable." A large number of soldiers and officers in Slovenia "have shamefully betrayed" and the "number of deserters in the country is increasing," as the "order" also set out. The "order" urged the establishment of order and "iron discipline" and called for the replacement of those officers who are unable to carry out this task.

The mentioned document "ordered" that those who hesitate and defeatists be removed from the Army and that "everybody who does not want to fight" be dismissed.

Domljan concluded in that respect that the JNA had "experienced a debacle" in Slovenia and that "deserting the Army was an honourable act nowadays."

Domljan said the Army had been compelled to issue the "order" so as to allow all those who want to leave it to do so.

Police Confirm Barricades on Zadar-Benkovac Road

LD0907172991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Summary] Split, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—The Zadar police today confirmed to TANJUG that barricades have been set up on the Zadar- Benkovac road on the territory of the Benkovac municipality and that members of the Krajina police, in camouflaged uniforms and with masks, are stopping all vehicles and identifying passengers. The police also said that over the past three days certain activities have been noticed which could be described as preparations for war: Additional beds were being set up in the Benkovac health center and even in the maternity ward. All stretchers have been removed and it is believed that a mobile hospital has been set up in the vicinity.

Krajina Special Forces Lead 'Mop-Up Operations'

AU0907211091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Commander of the special detachment of the Krajina militia, Captain Dragan—a pseudonym under

which this man is already well-known in the public—told journalists today that the third action in a row of the Knin special forces has been carried out. This trainer of the special forces and their leader in action said that in this last action eight members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] were killed. About the previous action he said that two members of the Croatian MUP were killed. He calls the mop-up operations of the Krajina Serbian Autonomous Region from MUP members the (?wasp), and says they will last until Krajina is completely free of the special forces of the Croatian MUP. About Knin special forces, he said that they are a legal armed force of a legal state, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

The economic blockade has already begun to be felt in Krajina through the shortage of some items. This was recently announced by Milan Brezak, assistant minister of internal affairs of Croatia.

The four Knin citizens who have allegedly been detained in the Vinkovci police headquarters have not appeared today, and nothing has been heard about the six or more who have allegedly been released immediately after interrogation.

The number of MUP members in Topusko has increased by 150, so there are already 500 of them in this town. It has also been learned today that Karlovac police headquarters has 2,000 members, that is, 10 times as many as there were militiamen in the public security station in the town this time last year.

Army Increases Activity Around Benkovac

LD0907213491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] There is evidence today in the area around Zadar of increased activity by the Army units and their open collaboration with members of the terrorist organization of the Krajina Internal Affairs Secretariat. Over 10 tanks and armored vehicles set off from the barrracks in Benkovac in the direction of Debelo Brdo near the village of Biljane in the western part of Benkovac municipality. At 1530 [1330 GMT] the terrorists blocked the village of Smiljcic in Benkovic municipality. According to unconfirmed information, in the nearby village of Biljane Donje military units carried out an exercise together with the terrorists.

Military aircraft today flew low over the village of Turanj in Biograd municipality and the islands of Babac, Pasman, and Vrgada. They took off from the airport in Zemunik. A truck full of soldiers left the barracks at Zemunik in the direction of Smiljcic. Three tanks and a military helicopter were spotted at Alan on Mt. Velebit.

No Clashes in 'Crisis Regions' 9 Jul

LD0907210491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1919 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, July 9 (TANJUG)—According to TANJUG's reporters, there were no clashes in crisis regions in the Republic of Croatia today, although there was sporadic shooting in some settlements where Serbs are the majority population.

The only major incident ocurred early this morning at the May 25 Bridge which links the towns of Ilok in Croatia and Backa Palanka in the Province of Vojvodina, a part of the Republic of Serbia.

According to a statement by the Fifth Army District, a number of sharp-shooters opened fire on Yugoslav People's Army soldiers on the Vojvodina side of the bridge, who returned fire and made the provocators flee.

Five wounded persons, two of whom [were] badly [hurt], today arrived at the institute for surgery of the Novi Sad School of Medicine from the Tenja region, a village near the town of Osijek in Croatia.

This confirms that the death toll of the fierce clashes two days ago in Tenja is not final. So far, it is known that nine persons were killed and around 30 wounded.

Water, electricity and telephone lines were cut off today in 26 settlements inhabited predominantly by Serbs in the Vukovar municipality.

The civil defence headquarters of the town of Bac in Vojvodina said that as a result of this, 187 people, mainly women and children, today fled from the Vukovar region.

According to today's figures, the Serbian Emigration Institute announced that over 8,600 serbs have fled from Croatia to Vojvodina since March.

Army Order Seeks To Remove 'Defeatest Elements'

LD0907171391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—At a news conference in the Croatian Assembly today, journalists were given the text of an "order" by the Federal Secretary for National Defense, broadcast by Croatian TV in its main news bulletin last night when it boasted of succeeding in obtaining the text without mentioning how. The text of the order was published today by VJESNIK and VECERNJI LIST, quoting Croatian TV and HINA.

At today's news conference Croatian Assembly President Zarko Domljan commented on the "order" but failed to explain how it was obtained.

The following is the "text" of the "order":

The situation in Yugoslavia is deteriorating by the minute, and there is an escalation in intranational conflicts. An unstable situation has developed in the Army. A large section of the Army and Army officers has committed an infamous treason. The number of deserters in the country is growing. Mobilized reservist units are refusing to move outside their home area. This is producing a negative effect on the morale and reputation of members of the Yugoslav People's Army. It is thought that behind these developments is the pressure from individual parties ill-disposed toward the Army both in the western parts of the country and in Serbia. There is no initiative, and the officers are not displaying any individual responsibility.

In view of the current situation, the following is being ordered:

To immediately take the most energetic measures to enhance the efficiency of the Army, to consolidate all military units, to restore order and iron discipline, and to immediately replace those officers who prove incapable of carrying out instructions or are justifiably assumed not to be capable of carrying them out. This applies to all levels of command;

To abandon the classical type of mobilization and embark on mobilization based on the principle of voluntariness;

To immediately rid the Army of waverers and defeatist elements. No one should be forced to stay in the Army.

To dismiss those who do not wish to fight and to treat deserters under war-situation laws;

To use all devices available to prevent units from surrendering; with any surrender to be treated as an act of treason against independence of the homeland and YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]. [sentence as received]

The above measures to be executed overnight.

The text of the "order" is signed by "General Kadijevic".

Tanks Withdraw From Glina Police Station

LD1007032491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Glina's police administration has confirmed that the Yugoslav Army's tanks withdrew last night from the approaches to the police station of Glina and unblocked the entry to this town's police station after 20 hours. The tanks withdrew to the barracks following an agreement between representatives of the Sisak police administration and the Fifth Military District.

Croatian Patrol Attacked in Tenja; No Casualties

LD1007092491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] At 0850 a patrol of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry came under attack from a sniper firing from the old part of Tenja—the nest of Chetnik terrorists. According to the Osijek police authorities, no one from the patrol was injured.

There were also no casualtities in a grenade attack this morning by terrorists from Silas on a farm near Tenja. The damage caused is great but its real extent cannot be assessed until investigative judges are guaranteed security in the area.

Shooting, Explosions Reported in Vinkovci

LD0907125591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Vinkovci, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—Between 0200 and 0330 last night, fierce machine-gun fire came from Mirkovci in the direction of Vinkovci and the neighboring village of Jankovci. At the same time, there were about 30 explosions in the village of Mirkovci. Locations of these explosions have not yet been determined. No details on damage and casualties are available.

The information center of the municipal assembly of Vinkovci was informed that this morning a Vinkovci-to-Brcko passenger train was shot at. One of passengers was wounded. Investigation regarding this incident is under way. Public peace and order bodies are keeping the situation under control.

Serbia

Serbian Opposition Issues Protest Statement

LD0907163791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—"The last session of the Serbian Assembly, which was interrupted by protesting citizens and later on resumed, confirmed what we have been witnessing for months—that there is no government in Serbia," this is stressed in a statement issued by deputies' clubs of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Democratic Party, the Serbian Peasants' Union, the Party of Yugoslavs, and the People's Peasants' Party which was distributed to journalists in the Serbian Assembly today.

The statement goes on to say that the assembly, following the dramatic events in Slovenia and Croatia, has for two days acted as a place for deputies to exchange personal views. This makes the citizens, the opposition leaders stress, mistrustful and start fearing for their own future. In a situation when not a single minute should be wasted, when there should be an initiative in Yugoslavia and from abroad, most competent institutions in the

Republic of Serbia are giving an impression of a complete chaos, and the government is first in creating such an impression. The opposition parties are not ready to support the present policy and if it cannot be changed for whatever reason deputies of the opposition parties do not want to take part in it not even as film extras in the people's assembly.

Opposition deputies stressed that they asked to be received by Slobodan Milosevic to whom they will present their stands, because they do not want to take over the responsibility for the consequences of adopting decisions behind the back of the parties and the parliament.

Dragoljub Micunovic commented on Franjo Tudjman's letter which he said was full of nice words, but what lies behind is still unknown. The Serbs and the Croats should hold epoch-making talks which would be attended by a wide circle of negotiators, and which should also include representatives of the Serbs in Croatia. It would be good to solve all conflicts through negotiations and peacefully and these talks should lead toward that, Dragoljub Micunovic said.

Number of Refugees From Croatia Increasing

LD0907173491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Bac, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—Ranko Stupar, head of the civil defense headquarters in Bac, told TANJUG today that because of the increasingly critical situation in Vukovar and surrounding villages, 187 refugees, mainly mothers and children, has crossed the Danube by ferry by 1400.

On arrival at the reception center, most of the refugees are sent on to Becej, where temporary accommodation will be organized for them.

The headquarters has learned that in the environs of Vukovar, 26 settlements populated mainly by Serbs have had electricity, water—where there is any—and post, telegraph, and telephone communications cut off today. Great fear and uncertainty reigns among the refugees because of the increasing accumulation of forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, the National Guard Corps, and armed National Democratic Party members.

The Vojvodina Red Cross has also reported that as of 1900 last night, a total of 8,686 refugees from Croatia are being cared for by families in Vojvodina. In addition to that number, there are another 500 children who are being provided with food and all medical services under the so-called collective accommodation program in facilities in the Fruska Gora and the Deliblatska Pescara.

Macedonia

Tupurkovski Asks EC Guarantee for Peace Pact

AU1007120391 Paris AFP in English 1133 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Jacques L'Huillery report]

[Text] The Hague, July 10 (AFP) — Yugoslavia asked the European Community on Wednesday [10 July] to guarantee implementation of an EC-brokered peace pact aimed at ending Yugoslavia's secessionist crisis.

The accords, hammered out at the weekend on the Yugoslav island of Brioni in the presence of the foreign ministers of the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Portugal, notably provided for a compromise on border problems, the demobilisation of Slovenian forces, and the suspension of independence moves by Slovenia and Croatia.

The plea came from Macedonia's representative in the Yugoslav federal presidency, Vasil Tupurkovski, who had talks here with Dutch foreign minister Hans van den Broek, current head of the EC council of ministers.

Mr. Tupurkovski said the peace agreement thrashed out on the island of Brioni had a time limit for implementation, "and that could be one of the reasons to fulfill the whole peaceful process."

The accord provides for comprehensive negotiations between federal and the republican leaders to open by August 1.

"In this respect, since the EC, especially the troika led by Mr. Van den Broek, are in a way guarantors of the whole process, we wanted to inform the EC of the present situation and to ask for further insistence on implementation", Mr. Tupurkovski went on.

The 12 EC members were holding a meeting on political cooperation which was to examine technical details of a monitoring mission being sent to Yugoslavia by the 35-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Mr. Tupurkovski said he was "objective enough" to admit that the federal Presidency was "as far in identical terms as the Slovenes are from implementing their obligations" under the Brioni agreement. [sentence as received]

Slovenia has complained that the central authorities have failed to free prisoners taken since June 25 when it and Croatia declared independence unilaterally.

Mr. Tupurkovski admitted: "We have to let all the prisoners free from the June 25 events, but we have not let anybody go, so if they (Slovenes have arguments to show, then it's true". Asked whether the three EC ministers should return to Yugoslavia, he said it was "not necessary at this moment because we will have the monitoring force any day".

On prospects for a peaceful solution, the Macedonian representative replied: "If you relate that to the Slovenia situation, I'm an optimist: about the general situation, including Croatian and Serbian relations, we have a most delicate situation. "It has to be put in the center of our negotiations in the next three months in order to secure the peaceful process".

Mr. Tupurkovski added: "There are very good chances that Yugoslavia stays together, but not on the basis of what Yugoslavia is today".

Presidency: No Reservists Deployed to Slovenia

LD1007115891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0635 GMT 10 Jul 91

[Text] Titograd, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslav People's Army units made up of reservists from Montenegro will not be used to attack any Yugoslav nation or nationality. Particularly, they are not going to be deployed in Slovenia. Their basic aim is to defend and protect Montenegro, and in accordance with this, they will only be deployed in Montenegro or on territories populated by those Yugoslav nations that wish to live in Yugoslavia.

This was stressed in a statement of the Montenegrin Presidency made public last night. At an extraordinary session the Presidency concluded that the situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself now, irrespective of the stability and peace in Montenegro, demands that Montenegro activate to the maximum its forces and means of defense and self-protection.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnian Party Leaders Comments on Crisis

LD0907183191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 9 Jul 91

[Text] Sarajevo/Banja Luka, July 9 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Tuesday condemned all forces in the country which are in favour of Yugoslavia's break- up and supported those fighting for its preservation and for peace.

In a statement to the Yugoslav and world public on the, as it said, renaissance of German fascism and its participation in the destruction of Yugoslavia, the SDP of Bosnia-Hercegovina particularly supported the Yugoslav People's Army and its actions for the preservation of peace and the country's integrity.

The SDP proposed the calling of Federal elections, the resignation of the Federal government and the forming of a national salvation government.

The SDP warned in its statement that parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina near the border with Croatia were full of Serbian refugees fleeing that republic and that Croatian officials were keeping silent about them as if nothing was happening.

It requested organized care for the refugees.

The SDP appeals on the Croatian public to influence the authorities in Croatia to stop the state terror against the Serbs, the statement said.

If Croatia and Slovenia leave Yugoslavia, the Bosnia-Hercegovina branch of the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) will urge that Bosnia- Hercegovina not remain in such a Yugosalvia, president of the CDU of Bosnia-Hercegovina Stjepan Kljujic and minister in the republican government Miro Lasic said today.

According to its leaders, the CDU will request that a referendum be held in Bosnia-Hercegovina to decide what kind of community the people want to live in.

The Banja Luka district committee of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM) called on all Serbian parties to focus on a new goal—the defence of Serbian national interests, meaning above all the creation of a single state in which the vast majority of the Serbian people will live.

In its statement today, the SRM of Banja Luka appealed on Serbian political parties to, "without giving up their political programs, act together in achieving this, for all Serbs, most important task."